

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

U.S. rulers debate  
lifting Cuba embargo

— PAGES 8-9

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## S. Africa talks mark further step forward

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Recent talks in South Africa between the African National Congress and the government of F.W. de Klerk showed that the democratic movement has taken new ground in its drive for universal one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly — the first such elections in South Africa's history.

The February 10-12 talks marked another step on the road to a democratic non-racist nonsexist republic, which is the ANC's goal, and were a further blow to the crumbling apartheid regime.

"The meeting reaffirmed agreement on an elected constitution-making body to draft the new constitution," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in a February 12 statement. Ramaphosa led the ANC delegation at the talks. "Agreement was also reached that elections for this body would take place as early as possible," the statement said.

The parties to the talks agreed that independent commissions would be appointed to run the elections and organize access to the media, according to the ANC statement. "These commissions will play a crucial role in leveling the playing field prior to elections," Ramaphosa continued.

The government also agreed that decisions concerning the boundaries, power, and future of the apartheid-created "homelands," also known as Bantustans, will be made by the constituent assembly. De Klerk had earlier demanded that agreements on the Bantustans be struck before elections and that such agreements be binding on the elected assembly that will draft a new constitution.

To hammer out the next steps toward elections, a multiparty planning conference was agreed to for some time in February or March.

Two sessions of such a body, under the name Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), were held in December 1991 and May 1992. De Klerk's government derailed negotiations during the second round of Codesa and a wave of violence was unleashed on the democratic movement by Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party goons, government security forces, and other rightist groups.

The ANC responded by organizing a mass movement of resistance. Four million workers went on strike August 3. Nelson Mandela led a massive and disciplined march on Pretoria August 5. Not a single person was injured or killed during that demonstration. These actions helped to register once again that the relationship of forces in South Africa is in favor of those who oppose the apartheid system and its regime.

The results of the recent talks are the fruits of the mobilizations during that period.

### Economic depression

The revolution unfolding in South Africa is taking place amid depression-like conditions in the economy. Close to 100,000 jobs were lost in 1992 and workers have experienced a sharp decline in real wages.

The ANC made proposals in the February talks for a Transitional Executive Council, which would govern until elections are held.

"If the South African government responds positively to the concrete proposals

Continued on Page 6

## Clinton urges sacrifice as depression continues

BY PAUL MAILHOT

As the capitalist depression continues to sink millions of working people across the country, U.S. president Bill Clinton went before the nation February 15 to demand more sacrifice. "We just have to face the fact that to make the changes our country needs, more Americans must contribute today so that all Americans can do better tomorrow," he said. According to the new president putting up with shared sacrifice is called "patriotism."

And in a show of bipartisan support for the president's plan of cutbacks against working people, Republican leader Robert Dole went before a national television audience to say, "Republicans in Congress are ready to get the job done. We want to cooperate with President Clinton." Furthermore, he said, working people should demand that "every outdated program and every bloated agency and every item in the federal budget takes the hit it deserves."

While Clinton takes aim at the living standards of working people through higher taxes and cutting much-needed social programs he masks his austerity program as primarily an attack on the rich. "Seventy

- Editorial, page 14
- Gov't plans to cut health care, page 5



Clinton takes aim at living standards of working people through higher taxes and cutting much-needed social programs.

percent of the new taxes I'll propose — 70 percent — will be paid by those who make more than \$100,000 a year," the president said. "For the first time in more than a decade," he added, "we are all in this together." Administration officials were quick to point out, however, that Clinton meant 7 out of 10 higher tax proposals would affect the wealthy — not that they would pay 70 percent of the additional tax burden!

### 'We' are not in this together

For weeks leading up to the president's State of the Union address, Clinton admin-

istration officials have floated proposals to reduce the deficit that make it clear "we" are not in this together. Cuts and higher taxes on Social Security, a new gasoline tax, value added taxes on tobacco and alcohol, and a myriad of other "shared sacrifice" proposals are being advanced that will adversely affect the lives of millions of working people — and have little effect on the country's wealthy families.

Administration officials announced on February 13 that a centerpiece of Clinton's effort to reduce the government deficit is to slash at least \$35 billion from the Medicare system over the next four years. Medicare provides health care for 35 million disabled and elderly people. Clinton's proposed cuts are three times what President George Bush sought, unsuccessfully, in 1992. The new president also plans to cut Medicaid, the health program for low-income people.

Clinton claims working-class sacrifice is necessary because of the policies followed during the Reagan and Bush years. But, in fact, his proposals are a response to a capitalist economy that continues to be in overall depression in spite of a recent upturn in the business cycle.

Clinton referred to this state of affairs in his address to the nation, pointing out that more people are unemployed today than

Continued on Page 11

## U.S. attorney general nominee Reno is best known for protecting cops

BY LAURA GARZA

MIAMI — In nominating Miami prosecutor Janet Reno for the post of attorney general of the United States, President Bill Clinton described her as "a frontline crime fighter" of "unquestioned integrity." While Reno received rave reviews from other lawyers, politicians, and the president of the National Organization for Women, her record shows that she is no friend of working people.

During her 15 years as state attorney in Dade County, Florida, she has established a record of refusing to prosecute cops who commit brutality that has earned her the enmity of many in working-class communities, especially the Black community.

"Janet Reno has consistently taken the side of the cops, the bosses, and the enemies of free speech, and we can expect more of the same when she becomes attorney general," said Dan Fein, the Socialist Workers candidate for Dade County Commission, District 3.

One of Reno's best known cases involved the December 1979 murder of Black insurance agent Arthur McDuffie by Metro Dade police officers who had stopped him for a routine traffic violation. Up to six officers delivered a beating so brutal that McDuffie's skull shattered.

In May 1980 an all-white jury in Tampa, where the trial had been moved, acquitted

all four officers of the murder charge. Many viewed this outcome as the result of a poorly prepared case by Reno's office. The verdict sparked a massive outcry in Miami. Sections of the city erupted in protest as people vented their anger.

In the aftermath of this case, Reno

adopted a policy of refusing to press any charges against cops who killed someone until after a county judge had concluded an inquest. Cross-examination is not allowed during these inquests and only the prosecutor from Reno's office is allowed to deter-

Continued on Page 5

## Striking miners: We'll give Peabody bosses a hard fight

BY CLAY DENNISON  
AND STEVE CRAINE

BECKLEY, West Virginia — As the strike by 7,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) against Peabody Holdings Co. enters its third week, miners in this area of southern West Virginia are digging in for what many believe could be a prolonged strike.

Together with their coworkers at Peabody mines in northern West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, miners here have been off the job since February 1 when the contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) expired.

"The coal company has a lot of coal

stockpiled, and the power companies do too," striker Mark Rankin told reporters. "So they're ready for a fight. I guess we'll just have to give them the best one we can." Rankin works at a Peabody-owned Eastern Associated mine in Blacksburg, West Virginia.

Peabody, the largest coal producer in the United States, refuses to disclose to the union its vast mine holdings. By dividing mining operations into various unionized and nonunion subsidiaries, coal companies can shift production and close unionized mines while expanding nonunion operations in a practice known as "double breasting." Complex layers of subsidiaries and holding

Continued on Page 7

Clinton backs UN plan to partition Bosnia — page 9





## IN BRIEF

### UN Security Council gives Israel green light to exclude deportees

The United Nations Security Council, while urging Israel to take back all of the 400 Palestinian deportees now stranded in southern Lebanon, has decided not to consider economic sanctions against Israel or even to debate Israel's refusal to accept more than 101 of the Palestinians.

Israeli officials said they hoped the decision would force Palestinian negotiators back to the Mideast talks, stalled since Palestinian delegates withdrew to protest the deportations.

The first week in February saw the bloodiest four days in more than two years in the occupied territories. Six Palestinian demonstrators were shot in separate incidents after three Palestinians were killed by an Israeli soldier February 5 as they sat in their car in the Gaza Strip.

Since last July at least 76 Palestinians have been killed, considerably more than in the previous six months, the Israeli human rights organization B'tselem reported.

### Spain: women miners win fight

A high court in Spain has ruled in favor of Concepción Rodríguez Valencia, a 35-year-old miner who sued the Hunosa mining company for the right to work underground. In a January ruling, the Constitutional Court overturned a 1987 lower court decision that ruled the company had not violated Rodríguez's constitutional rights by banning women from underground mining.

The company argued that banning women from dangerous and unsafe jobs was a "social gain for working women." In its ruling against the ban, the court stated that while "the ban on women working inside the mines was the result of measures that historically aimed at protecting women workers, it could not be classified as an affirmative-action measure because far from favoring equal opportunities for women in the workplace, it limits women by not allowing them to perform certain jobs."

### 200,000 jobs lost in Spain

The Spanish economy experienced a sharp downturn in the second half of 1992. The year ended with a 1.2 percent growth rate, far below the projected 3 percent. More than 200,000 jobs were lost. A situation of low



Palestinian and her children stand in their house on Gaza Strip, destroyed by Israeli troops allegedly searching for members of Hamas organization. Israeli government launched new wave of repression in February, killing several Palestinians.

growth, destruction of jobs, stagnation in industrial production, and a fall in investment and consumption is how the minister of finance, Carlos Solchaga, summed up 1992.

### Germany to privatize highways

In an effort to ease economic pressures, the German government approved plans February 9 to privatize its network of free-ways — the autobahns — and to begin charging motorists for their use. Under the plan motorists who live in Germany will be charged an annual fee for using the highways, while foreign motorists passing through will have to pay a fee and display window stickers to drive on an autobahn.

The day after the German government announced the plan, it was met by "a barrage of abuse, mostly from motorists," reported the *Financial Times*.

### Volkswagen announces job cuts

After two record low years of auto sales in Germany, Volkswagen announced plans to eliminate 36,000 jobs by the end of 1997. The car company, which now employs 276,000 workers, will reduce its work force

by 13 percent.

A total of 21,000 jobs will be lost in Germany and 15,000 in its foreign operations. VW's overseas division includes operations in the United States, Mexico, Canada, South Africa, and Japan. The automaker also owns 51 percent of Autolatina, the Argentine and Brazilian producers of Volkswagens.

### More auto layoffs in Europe

Daf, the Anglo-Dutch commercial vehicle maker, has plans to eliminate 6,500 jobs. Daf sent letters to 5,500 of the union members working at Leyland Daf, its company in Britain, informing them that layoffs there were "inevitable," as the company intends to lay off more than 1,000 workers in that plant.

Administrators project layoffs in Daf plants in the Netherlands and Belgium as well. "The expectation is that in Westerlo in Belgium and Eindhoven in the Netherlands the total number of jobs will be at least halved," they said. The combined work force at these plants is 6,500.

### British ship workers on strike

Some 1,300 workers at the Yarrow Corp. warship yard in Clydeside, Britain, have gone on strike for the first time since 1985 after rejecting the company's pay offer and the union officials' recommendation to accept it.

The strikers want an increase in their basic weekly rate, which now stands at £218 (US\$307) for a skilled worker.

The company's two-year offer would give the workers a \$423 lump sum payment immediately, followed by a 3.8 percent pay raise in July. In return, Yarrow wants changes in the working conditions, including the abolition of a Friday morning tea-break.

The company, which employs a total of 2,300 people, recently laid off 400 workers.

### Medical aid delivered to Cuba

The renowned U.S. pediatrician Benja-

min Spock headed the U.S.-Cuban Medical Project that visited Havana to deliver a donation of medicine and equipment worth \$82,000 to the Cuban Red Cross. The contributions were brought from 41 U.S. cities and were specially licensed by Washington. Before he left Cuba, the 89-year-old doctor sent a letter to President Bill Clinton, urging him to lift the embargo against the island nation. "I think it is not only illegal," said Spock, "but it is criminal for one country to try to strangle another country."

The U.S. embargo has been in place for more than 30 years, stopping Cuba from buying anything manufactured or patented in the United States, including food and medicines.

### Clinton threatens new trade war

In a televised "town meeting" February 10, President Bill Clinton attacked the European Community (EC) for its subsidies to the aircraft manufacturer Airbus. "Either the Europeans are going to quit subsidizing Airbus... or we're going to have to take on the competition," he said. Clinton claimed Airbus has received \$15 billion in direct subsidies.

Officials of the EC trade commission responded that Washington's subsidies to the aerospace industry in the United States in effect exceed subsidies by the EC. "The U.S. civil aeronautics industry has benefited from about \$22 billion in indirect support from defense spending over the past decade, and if we accumulate their interest it would be nearer \$30 billion", said a representative.

### European Community tariffs on banana imports draw fire

The presidents of the banana exporting countries Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, as well as delegates from Mexico and Venezuela, met in Guayaquil, Ecuador, to consider ways to fight the proposed Economic Community quotas and tariffs on banana imports from Latin America.

In December, the EC decided to impose a 20 percent tariff on the first 2 million tons of bananas imported from Latin American countries each year and a 170 percent tariff on any additional amount. This is to protect the European countries and their African and Caribbean banana-producing former colonies from lower-cost producers in Latin America. Not all European countries support the EC tariffs. Germany, for example, (which has not had banana-producing colonies), protested against losing access to cheaper produce.

On February 10 the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade agreed to investigate whether the EC is violating the free trade rules established by that body.

### 500,000 salmon to be destroyed

More than 500,000 salmon worth up to \$14 million will be destroyed in the Shetland Islands, Scotland, following the *Braer* tanker disaster last month that spilled 800,000 tons of crude oil off the southern coast of the islands.

— SELVA NEBBIA

## THE MILITANT

### Read about solidarity conference in South Africa

The African National Congress is sponsoring an international solidarity conference February 19-21 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Several hundred participants will gather to discuss how to advance the fight to bring down the apartheid system. 'Militant' reporters are participating in the conference and will provide on-the-scene coverage of this historic event and other developments in South Africa. Don't miss a single issue!



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# Haitians detained at Guantánamo Bay are on hunger strike

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Haitian refugees detained at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, are now into the third week of their hunger strike.

The hunger strike, which began January 29, involves more than 200 refugees who have been detained at the naval base camp between 10 and 15 months. They are demanding the right to enter the United States to pursue their claims for political asylum.

Immigration authorities had previously acknowledged that all the refugees at Guantánamo had presented strong cases for asylum. But they are barring the Haitians from entering the United States on the basis that they tested positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. The Clinton administration stated February 8 that it would soon lift the HIV restriction policy but has not said how soon.

The Haitian hunger strikers are physically weak but remain determined. In a February 13 phone interview Munir Coulanges, a leader of the Haitian refugees at the camp, explained, "We want to leave Guantánamo. We would rather die than remain at Guantánamo."

"We want people in the United States to know that we are not the only people in the world who are HIV-positive," Coulanges continued. "We have our rights too; we should be respected."

In Haiti, Coulanges had worked at an election office. After the September 1991 military coup that ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the army accused him of being pro-Aristide. "They went looking for me, but couldn't find me. They returned and smashed up my house. They wanted to kill me," said Coulanges, who left Haiti in a boat with 178 other refugees.

"Everybody is together in this. We figure this is the only alternative we have," Haitian camp president Michel Vilsaint told a *Miami Herald* reporter.

"Everybody lies down in the same place," Vilsaint said. "Some of the women and some of the men tie their stomachs so they don't feel the hunger." The camp's adult residents are drinking only water. Mothers continue to feed their infants.

Two New York physicians, Douglas Shenson and Jean Ford, who recently visited the Guantánamo camp as representatives of the group Doctors of the World, described the living conditions of the Haitian refugees as "a medical and public health outrage." They cited unsanitary toilet facilities, a lack of adequate running water, and leaky barracks as features of the prison-like camp.

The physicians warned that deaths among the hunger strikers may occur within days. Meanwhile, in Haiti the military rulers

finally agreed February 9 to allow United Nations-sponsored "human rights observers" to enter the country. A group of 40 Organization of American States observers, including 15 from the United States, are expected to arrive in Haiti in mid-February. The group is expected to expand to about 200 people over the next month.

## New York forum backs detainees

BY KATHARINE LEE

NEW YORK — A meeting was organized here in solidarity with the Haitian hunger strikers at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The February 8 event was called by the Emergency Coalition for Haitian Refugees; 80 people attended.

Among the speakers at the Brooklyn meeting was Linage Raoul of Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees, who had just returned from meeting with the hunger strikers at Guantánamo. Raoul reported that participation in the hunger strike is almost 100 percent among the adults in the camp.

The refugees "were strong leaders in Haiti," said Raoul. "They are very clear on what they want and what their rights are. They are tired of waiting on the U.S. legal system."

Also speaking was former U.S. soldier Donovan Cole, who was arrested and discharged from the military for refusing to carry arms to threaten the Haitian refugees in Guantánamo. Cole, who is Black, described the inhumane living conditions of the Haitians at the camp. They are forced to "live with rats, without sanitary conditions or good food," he stated.

On one occasion, a pregnant woman was sleeping on a piece of foam rubber on the ground. Cole brought her a blanket and made her a hammock. She had been vomiting during the day. The soldier, thinking she needed better food, brought her some of his own. When his superior officer noticed this, he ordered Cole to throw the food in the trash. "I was told not to be too nice because they would get too comfortable. And this was portrayed as a humanitarian mission!" Cole exclaimed.

During a July demonstration by the refugees against conditions in the camp, Cole was told to get his weapon. He refused. "I didn't need it. To me it was unwarranted," he explained. The following morning he was put under house arrest, and later discharged.



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Thousands march in Miami to protest treatment of Haitian refugees by Washington

## Miami march condemns treatment of Haitians

BY ROSA GARMENDÍA

MIAMI — Seven thousand people marched here February 7 to protest the unjust treatment of Haitian refugees and call for the return to power of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The date marked the second anniversary of the inauguration of Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected president.

The march and rally that followed were a forceful answer to Washington's naval blockade of Haiti. The blockade is designed to prevent Haitians fleeing political repression on the island from coming to southern Florida.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Haitian rights organization Veye-Yo, marched through Little Haiti to the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and back again. The most popular chants on the four-mile route demanded a return to democracy in Haiti.

Many of the marchers were at their first demonstration. About 10 percent of the participants were not Haitian, an increase over previous protests.

Jesse Jackson spoke at a rally before the march. He urged U.S. government action to restore Haitian democracy. Aristide had been scheduled to speak, but decided at the last minute not to participate.

### Unionists join protest

A contingent of 15 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union participated in the march and rally. This was the first time a union in Miami supported an action demanding that Haitian refugees be allowed into the United States.

The union produced a leaflet in Spanish to build the march among its members, and Monica Russo, a union official, spoke at the event.

The rally was co-chaired by Rolande Dorancy, executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center, and Johnnie McMillan of the NAACP. Dorancy began her remarks by explaining, "This is not a Haitian cause; this is everyone's cause."

Ira Kurzban, a well-known lawyer for the Haitian Refugee Center, said, "There would be no refugee problem if Aristide was returned to the presidency." Billy Hardeman, an anti-police-brutality activist and candidate for county commissioner, began his comments saying, "Clinton is a liar." The crowd enthusiastically turned this into a chant. Before the election, President Bill Clinton promised to end Bush's policy of forcibly returning refugees to Haiti.

County Commissioner Arthur Teele also spoke. He said that the struggles of "Afro-Americans and Haitians are one." This was a theme echoed by many other speakers.

Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for county commission, said that opening the borders to Haitian refugees is a question of the unity of the working class. "Working people — white, Black, and Latino — must welcome the Haitian refugees and all other immigrants," Fein said. "Together we will fight for jobs for all, housing, and education for our children."

"Clinton will not bring democracy to Haiti," Fein added. "Only the Haitian working class and youth of that country can do that. The U.S. imperialists never send troops anywhere in the world for freedom and democracy."

## Protests resume against killer cops in Cleveland

BY PACO SÁNCHEZ

CLEVELAND — Protest actions demanding justice for Michael Pipkins have resumed here following a decision by the city prosecutor not to file criminal charges against the police responsible for his death. Pipkins, a 23-year-old Black man, was killed by two white Cleveland policemen who put him in a chokehold while arresting him December 28.

The city prosecutor and mayor are being criticized for stating that they didn't take the case against the police to trial because they were not sure a conviction could be won. Both admit this is a stricter standard than is usually held to in deciding whether to send a case to trial.

"This is the first time I've seen the city use 'being able to get a conviction' as the legal standard. I'm going to hold them to the legal standard with my clients," said Stanley Toller, a local criminal defense lawyer.

Community outrage was fueled by comments by Bob Beck, president of the Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association, at a meeting of 250 officers following the ruling. Beck said the city was going to prosecute the police but had backed down in the face of preparations for a city police strike.

About 80 people gathered at a February

6 town hall meeting to discuss the Pipkins case, organized by the Coalition for a Better Life. The forum, titled "Where Do We Go From Here?" was chaired by Omar Ali-Bey. Participants heard a number of representatives from antidrug and anticrime Black community organizations. One speaker was the president of Black Shield, an organization of Black police, who called for sensitivity training for the police department. Among the ideas endorsed at the meeting was a picket line from 5:00-7:00 p.m. every Monday afternoon in front of City Hall.

A Militant Labor Forum the next day featured a panel with Pipkins's father, Jack Blair; Omar Ali-Bey of the Coalition for a Better Life; Amanda Byrne of the Greater Cleveland National Organization for Women; K.I. Pedizaisi, a local journalist; and Don Mackle from the Socialist Workers Party.

Blair called on participants to continue the fight to have the police put on trial. "My main agenda is to get it into court," he said. "The main point is to get the police put on trial. That would be a step forward for all people."

Mackle discussed what it will take to win the demand to put the cops on trial. He pointed to the civil rights movement and the

fight against apartheid in South Africa as examples of working-class movements based on mobilizations in the streets that have won significant gains.

"The media presents the situation as if there were only two options: Stay home and wait for the legal system to work or go out and riot. We say what is necessary is for people to take to the streets in large, militant, and disciplined political actions," said Mackle. He called for broadly sponsored demonstrations demanding that the cops be put on trial.

A February 8 picket line at City Hall drew approximately 70 people. During the rally an open-mike discussion was conducted about how to build the fight for justice for Michael Pipkins. Some speakers advocated building an exclusively Black movement.

"The movement should involve all those who agree with the demand that the cops should be put on trial," said Peter Thierjung, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party. "The best 'sensitivity training' the police can get is to see one of them found guilty of police brutality and sent to jail."

Paco Sánchez is a member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 233.

## Funds needed for South Africa reporting trip

The Militant is sending a reporting team to cover the International Solidarity Conference hosted by the African National Congress (ANC) in Johannesburg, South Africa, February 19-21.

The current discussions between the ANC and the ruling National Party underline the importance of making this reporting trip right now. The team will remain in the country for several days following the conference to provide reports of the latest developments there.

The next issue will feature the first reports from the team. Donations are urgently needed to help cover the costs of this trip. Readers can send them to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



# Teams visit coalfields as renewal drive begins

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a monthly Spanish-language publication, are launching a four-week renewal drive beginning February 20.

The drive aims to sign up as long-term readers at least 10 percent of the 2,770 *Militant* and 531 *Perspectiva Mundial* readers who subscribed during the October to December international circulation campaign.

This renewal campaign comes at an important time for expanding the

ban working people to deal with the challenges confronting their revolution; the debate over the road forward for the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa; and important discussions and developments in the labor movement worldwide.

As a special focus of the renewal drive, *Militant* supporters will be organizing discussions with readers who are members of trade unions and visiting campuses to reach the hundreds of new student subscribers

southern Illinois, reports David Sandor. One Saturday team sold five papers at a Consolidation Coal portal. Another five copies and one subscription were sold going door-to-door in the nearby town of Pinckneyville. A weekday team to Coulterville sold 10 papers in about one and a half hours.

On Saturday, February 13, *Militant* supporters visited the picket lines of striking Peabody miners in Marissa, Illinois, and sold 12 papers to strikers there. "Several miners said they recognized the *Militant* or had bought it before from sales teams at mine portals," said Sandor. "One miner said he had read the paper in Virginia during the Pittston Coal strike, and another had seen it at a rally for striking Caterpillar workers in Peoria, Illinois. A door-to-door team the same day sold seven single copies and one subscription in the town of Kincaid."

St. Louis supporters of the *Militant* have taken a goal of selling 15 subscriptions to UMW miners between now and March 20, and 10 single copies each week.

A week-long sales team to the coalfields of western Kentucky and Indiana will hit the road February 15.

Supporters in Miami report selling 42 *Militants* at the February 7 demonstration of 7,000 people in solidarity with the Haitian refugees. More than \$400 worth of Pathfinder titles was also sold at two literature tables set up at the rally and from the Pathfinder bookstore located a block away.

Rosa Garmendia reports that more than 50 people came into the bookstore February 7 to buy books and newspapers, and to learn more



*Militant*/Seth Galinsky  
Socialist sales and literature table at February 7 demonstration in Miami to support Haitian refugees

about the Socialist Workers campaign of Dan Fein for county commissioner. Cynthia, a Haitian worker who helped carry a socialist campaign banner in the march, said, "I've never heard about the Socialist Workers Party before today. I like your ideas."

*Militant* supporters in oil refineries in the San Francisco Bay Area sold 13 copies of the paper to members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union in the week leading up to the February 1 contract expiration date.

Betsy Whittaker from San Francisco reports, "Fourteen papers and one subscription were also sold at a February 5 rally at the Shell Oil Refinery gate in Martinez, California, which was attended by 400 oil workers from several refineries."

"Most who bought the *Militant*

were attracted by the coverage on labor struggles such as the OCAW organizing drive at Chevron in Philadelphia and the steelworkers' strike in Alabama," writes Whittaker. "One oil worker at Shell bought the paper to 'see what workers all over the world are doing.' Another from Chevron, commenting on the coverage on Cuba, said, 'It's about time the United States starts communicating with Cuba.'"

*Militant* articles gain an even wider circulation when other newspapers reprint them. Under the headline "U.S. expands role in Somalia," the weekly Black community paper *Michigan Citizen* reprinted an article on Somalia by Brian Williams that originally appeared in the Jan. 15, 1993 *Militant*.

—BRIAN WILLIAMS

## The 'Militant' gets around

long-term readership base of the *Militant*. By the end of next month, all of the 12-week introductory subscriptions sold in November and December will have expired. Most of the introductory *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions will also be lapsing.

Teams of *Militant* and *PM* supporters are organizing to recontact all of these subscribers either by phone or through personal visits to discuss the important political issues covered in the publications and urge readers to continue their subscriptions.

During the next month, all readers who renew their *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription for six months or more can purchase a copy of the new Pathfinder pamphlet, *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today: Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s*, by Mary-Alice Waters, at a reduced price of \$2. This amounts to a savings of \$1.50 off the cover price of this 40-page pamphlet, which is available in English, Spanish, and French.

The *Militant* is a unique newspaper. It tells the truth about political events from the viewpoint of the international working class. Each week the paper presents accurate news reports and political analysis on such topics as: U.S. president Bill Clinton's plans for attacking Social Security and Medicare; how profiteering by pharmaceutical companies and other capitalists in the medical "business" is placing basic health care out of the reach of many working-class families; the war in the Balkans; efforts by Cu-

who signed up for the paper last fall.

We urge our distributors to send in reports on experiences during the renewal campaign that can be reported in upcoming issues.

*Militant* supporters have been circulating the paper among members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) who are currently on strike against Peabody Holdings Co. as part of the fight for a new national contract.

A team of supporters visited coal-mining areas in southern West Virginia February 6-14. Team member Steve Craine reports they sold 76 *Militants* and 10 subscriptions — the majority to UMW families. Most of the sales were from door-to-door discussions in the community, as well as from visits to picket lines and union halls.

"Those who buy the *Militant* are attracted to the paper's coverage of the worldwide struggle of working people," said Craine. A number of retired miners were also interested in the *Militant's* recent top headline about Clinton's plans to attack Social Security.

A retired Black rail worker in Beckley, West Virginia, explained why he was supporting the miners' strike. "If the bosses could, they would have us all working for nothing," he said.

*Militant* supporters from St. Louis have been organizing Saturday and weekday teams to mine portals and coalfield towns in

have joined the picket lines at Trinity, where 500 unionists are entering the sixth month of their fight. Thirteen strikers decided to purchase the campaign newspaper the *Militant* after a recent union meeting and on the picket line earlier that day. Several strikers signed the petition for the Socialist Workers candidate.

### Workers discuss Clinton's cutbacks

"Some of the strikers said they liked the idea of a USWA member and strike supporter running for office," Farley said in a phone interview.

Farley reports that President Bill Clinton's proposals to slash Social Security, Medicare, and other entitlements have been a big topic of discussion at the USX plant where she works. "Many workers expressed surprise that Clinton, now that he's in office, is suddenly cutting all these programs," she said.

In a campaign statement the socialist steelworker explains that "Clinton's talk about 'shared sacrifice' is fraudulent." She adds that the government's attacks on the social wage are another part of the employers' drive to push down the living standards of workers and farmers, just like the antiunion assault by the coal bosses. "Like the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and Trinity, Clinton is determined to make working people pay for the capitalist crisis," Farley points out.

A team of supporters discussed the socialist perspective with coal miners at the Jim Walters Number 3 mine. They found the

miners were hungry for information about the Peabody strike and viewed it as an important fight. Many took campaign literature to read and three miners bought copies of the *Militant*.

Students at the University of Alabama in Birmingham have also expressed interest in the socialist campaign's ideas and added their names to the nominating petitions. "A number of those we talked to were concerned about possible U.S. military intervention in Bosnia and other parts of the world," Farley said.

The socialist candidate is presenting an internationalist perspective, not the "America First" stance of the two employers' parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Sup-

porters of Farley's campaign have been explaining why working people and youth should oppose Washington's moves toward war in the former Yugoslavia and the U.S. occupation of Somalia.

Farley was the featured speaker at a February 6 *Militant* Labor Forum in Birmingham, where she addressed some of the challenges facing the labor movement and youth under the Clinton presidency.

Among those who came to the meeting to find out what the socialist campaign stands for was a member of the United Auto Workers union from the Pemco aircraft repair plant. Another participant signed up at the forum as a volunteer to campaign for the socialist alternative.

## Socialist steelworker enters Alabama senate race

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

A socialist steelworker has entered the race for state senate in Alabama. Frances Farley began her campaign by calling for solidarity with the striking coal miners who are battling Peabody Holding Co. She also pledged to use her campaign to support the Steelworkers union members on strike against Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama.

The 7,000 striking miners "are on the front lines of working people's resistance to the ruling class's determination to lower our standard of living and narrow our democratic rights," Farley said. "They deserve the support of trade unionists, farmers, youth, and fighters for Black, women's, and democratic rights throughout this state and throughout this country."

Farley, the Socialist Workers candidate, is a member of Local 2122 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and works at the USX Corp.'s Fairfield Works near Birmingham, Alabama. Her supporters are campaigning to put her name on the ballot in a special election to fill the seat vacated by Democrat Earl Hilliard, who was elected to the U.S. Congress in November. The socialist is the only candidate running against the Democrats in this election.

In just one week, campaigners for the socialist candidate got almost 600 signatures on petitions, more than twice the number required to place her name on the ballot. They will file the signatures February 16 in Montgomery, the state capital.

Farley and other socialist campaigners

## DeBates to chair socialist campaign

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Estelle DeBates, who was the Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of the United States in the 1992 election, has been named National Campaign Chairperson for the 1993 Socialist Workers campaigns.

"During his first three weeks in office, President Bill Clinton has made clear that he plans to attack Social Security, Medicare, and other social gains won by working people through past struggles," stated DeBates. "This deepening assault on the rights and living standards of working people, combined with Washington's drive toward new wars abroad, underlines the

importance of continuing to campaign aggressively for the socialist alternative in 1993."

As the socialist vice-presidential candidate, DeBates traveled widely last year, including to North Korea, Japan, and South Africa, in order to share experiences with working people around the world. In January she participated in a two-week *Militant* reporting trip to the Philippines.

The Socialist Workers campaign has announced candidates for office in eight states so far — Alabama, California, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Texas, and West Virginia.



# Clinton prepares to cut health care

## Intended 'reform' of health system will reduce workers' access to needed care

BY SARA LOBMAN

Under the banner of reform, President Bill Clinton has launched a campaign to cut government spending on health care. He claims that in the first 100 days in office he will begin to resolve the health-care crisis facing millions of working people in the United States. To this end he has appointed his wife, Hillary Clinton, to head a cabinet-level task force that will formulate administration policy on health care. The proposals they are considering treat medical care for working people as a handout — not a right.

There is no question that the health-care situation in the United States is horrendous. In a country where virtually no medical care is free, 37 million people — one in seven — have no insurance. This includes 12 million children. Even workers lucky enough to have some coverage can pay thousands of dollars in premiums and deductibles. The average family spent more than \$4,000 on health care in 1991. A recent survey found that paying doctors and hospital bills was the number one worry among families with annual incomes below \$20,000.

But the starting point for the Clintons, and for other spokespeople of the ruling class, is not the fact that an estimated 100,000 preventable deaths occur each year because people cannot afford health care. Just the opposite. All of the different plans being discussed and debated — from "managed competition," which Clinton favors, to the "single-provider" system preferred by Congressional Budget Office director Robert Reischauer — begin with the assumption that too much money is being spent on "lavish" health plans that working people have no right to anyway.

### Extending coverage vs. controlling cost

A *Washington Post* editorial asserted that there are "two great issues" in health reform that "point in opposite directions." One is extending protection to those who are without medical insurance; the other is controlling costs. Contrary to the experience of most working people, the *Post* concludes that "as a society we tend to be better at the first of these tasks — providing benefits — than at the second."

An article in the same issue of the *Post* blames the rising cost of Medicaid and Medicare for the federal deficit. Medicaid is often the only medical insurance available for low-income families, welfare recipients, and blind and disabled individuals. It is the fourth-largest item in the federal budget. Thirty million people depend on it. The other government medical insurance program, Medicare, provides some protection for people over 65 years old.

The *Post* is not alone in blaming the economic crisis on the rights working people have won. "The costs of the two major health-care entitlements [Medicaid and Medicare] are expected to continue to explode," Reischauer told the Senate Budget Committee. He added that the cost of Medicaid next year would be equal to that of "the entire farm price support program."

### 'Managed competition'

The basis of Clinton's health reform plan is that limiting public and private spending on health care will create surplus savings. Clinton aides have said they hope part of the savings could be used to insure some of the millions of people who have no medical coverage at all.

Clinton favors a method for cutting spending on health care — managed competition — that relies on private insurance plans. Reischauer and others argue that it is more cost-efficient to have the federal government take responsibility for providing insurance. The managed-competition bill currently before Congress was introduced last year by Rep. Jim Cooper. Cooper's plan would establish a national health board to determine a standard package of benefits. Insurance cooperatives would negotiate prices from competing health plans, and individuals and businesses would buy coverage from the cooperatives.

The Cooper proposal would tax employers who provided more than the basic, lowest-cost health plan and would directly tax



Health care today is horrendous. Clinton, however, does not advocate medical care as a right. His reforms do not touch the key problem: the system is based on profit.

workers for the value of their health benefits over a certain amount. In a December interview with the *Wall Street Journal*, Clinton said he was "inclined to agree" with these taxes.

### More room for states to cut benefits

The other concrete step Clinton has taken to advance his so-called health agenda was to grant state governments more flexibility to ignore federal guidelines for providing Medicaid benefits. The new rules will make it easier for states to transfer Medicaid funding from one program to another, such as from nursing-home care to home care, or to implement programs that are currently not allowed.

Oregon's reform proposal is an example of the kind of waiver states can be expected to request. The Oregon plan would ration Medicaid by cutting off funding for certain treatments the state considers ineffective. The savings would supposedly be used to provide benefits for low-income people. The proposal was rejected once. Gwenn Baldwin, a spokeswoman for Oregon's governor, called the Clinton announcement "good news."

The underlying assumption of managed competition is that working people do not need or deserve the same quality health care that the wealthy buy. In defense of his bill's use of taxes to penalize more complete health plans, Cooper said, "Everybody gets to de-

duct a Ford or a Chevrolet. But if you want a Ferrari or a Mercedes, you have to pay for the difference."

### Right or charity?

A New York family got a brutal taste of what this approach really means. Earlier this year Andrés Maldonado received a letter from Medicaid explaining that his six-year-old son had used all but 3 of the 14 hospital emergency room visits allowed. The family was advised to avoid future visits. Several weeks later the child came home from school sick. "We didn't take him to emergency because we would end up wasting a visit for a time when we might have needed it more," his father explained. Thirty-six hours later the boy died from bacterial meningitis.

In another example, the state of New Jersey recently began pulling money out of its unemployment insurance fund in order to finance a minimal level of health care.

Working people should not have to make sacrifices in order to have health care. The ruling class does not have to choose between medical care for the elderly or prenatal care; between hospital care when it is necessary or home care when it is appropriate; between good care for some or standard care for all. Even more importantly, every "choice" like this drives a wedge between layers of our class. It forces comparisons, like the one Reischauer makes, between programs to enable working farmers to make a living and medical care, or between unemployment compensation and hospital care.

Instead, the labor movement should insist that health care, including access to the best medical treatments available, is a right that belongs to everyone.

## Janet Reno refuses to prosecute cops

### Continued from front page

mine what evidence is presented and which witnesses are called. The judge then makes a recommendation on whether charges should be filed. Only once, out of 80 cases in the last 10 years, has a judge recommended filing charges. While the judge's decision is not binding, Reno's office has always accepted these recommendations as final.

"This is a way for police shootings to be justified quickly and to close out the matter," said Jeffery Weiner, president of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers. "It's a political out for the prosecutor's office in many instances."

### Cover-up for cop brutality

Reno's record is one of consistently avoiding the prosecution of cops. A look at a few cases from just the past year illustrates this fact.

- On January 3, 1992, Antonio Edwards was sitting in his car eating lunch with his girlfriend when police ordered him to leave and began to question him. When he protested that he had done nothing wrong and didn't understand why he was being bothered, the cops roughed him up, including applying a choke hold. This caused Edwards to lapse into a coma from which he has never recovered.

The cop who applied the chokehold, Carl Seals, had 20 complaints in his file including one for hitting a robbery suspect in the head with a radio. While Seals was suspended with pay, no charges were ever brought against any of the officers involved in the incident.

- On February 1, 1992, 16-year-old Andrew Morello was shot and killed while he and some friends were backing a van down a street. Two off-duty officers in their bathrobes came out into the street to see what the van was doing in front of their house. They never identified themselves as cops before one of them shot at the van.

The case received wide publicity when a local newspaper ran an article highlighting some of the key facts in the case that Reno's office had left out of the evidence presented at the inquest.

Reno refused to keep the investigation open, even when it was revealed that the judge had not been presented with all the evidence available to the prosecutor's office. Requests made by the Morello family to see this evidence have been consistently stonewalled by Reno's office.

- On August 9, 1992, a fire erupted at a store in the Wywood section of Miami, a largely Puerto Rican neighborhood. A friend of the store owner, Fermín Alameda, a 63-year-old man, tried to assist the fire fighters. Alameda was grabbed by cops and beaten, which resulted in three broken and two fractured ribs, a dislocated right shoulder, and a liver lacerated in 14 places.

Alameda died that day after lying on the ground handcuffed and unconscious for 45 minutes before any medical attention was given.

A judge ruled that the cops used justifiable force against Alameda and acted within the department's guidelines. Reno's office has never pursued any other action in this case.

- In January 1989 police officer William Lozano gunned down Clement Lloyd who was riding his motorcycle. They also killed Alan Blanchard who had been riding along with Lloyd. In response, riots and protests erupted for three days in Miami's Black communities of Liberty City and Overtown.

This time, unlike in previous cases, a campaign of public protests demanding that Lozano be prosecuted forced Reno to take the case to trial.

In December 1989 a tri-ethnic jury in Miami convicted Lozano of two counts of manslaughter. Lozano, who has never seen a day in jail, is currently awaiting retrial, which is scheduled for March and has been moved out of Miami.

"For our class to get justice," SWP candidate Fein commented on Reno's record, "we will have to organize to demand it, to demand that cops who beat and kill people be jailed. That's what I am using my campaign to urge people to do."

### Death penalty convictions

Reno insists that she will be tough on crime and that while she does not "person-

ally" support the death penalty, she will ask for it as the law demands. In fact, according to the *New York Times*, her office has obtained more than 100 capital convictions during her tenure.

Miami has earned a reputation for being a place where rightists who use threats and violence to intimidate political opponents have little to fear from the police. Reno's office has not done much to curb the cops and right-wing thugs who have attacked democratic rights.

A report released by Americas Watch in 1992 documents a series of actions, including some where city officials and cops were involved, where threats and violence were used to silence and intimidate political activists.

Reno's office, for example, has tried to discourage those who want to see action taken against right-wing Cuban Marcel Felipe, who assaulted Tony Thomas, an usher at a October 1, 1992 meeting held at Florida International University where two members of the Cuban Union of Young Communists spoke.

Felipe had punched Thomas, knocking him out for a minute. Felipe was immediately detained by the university police, a number of whom saw the whole event. The incident was also broadcast on several TV stations. Reno's office, however, has not yet acted on the charges filed by Thomas in early October.

Instead, in their first meeting with Thomas, the prosecutor assigned to the case explained that she had not spoken to or contacted any of the witnesses Thomas had named. She had also not viewed the video of the event nor called the university police. She had only spoken with Marcel Felipe and some of his witnesses.

The prosecutor threatened to close the case unless more evidence was provided. The university subsequently suspended Felipe for one year for his actions. This has compelled Reno's office to keep the case open.

The record Reno has on police brutality and political violence and intimidation provides a fair indication of what she will do if she is confirmed for the post of U.S. attorney general.



# Georgia Confederate flag debate heats up

BY SUSAN LaMONT

ATLANTA — Most working people in the United States would be hard pressed to describe the flag of the state they live in. But in Georgia the state flag is at the center of a growing public debate. The reason? The flag, in addition to bearing the state seal, also contains the Confederate flag — crossed blue bars with white stars on a red field. Recently introduced legislation to change the flag has sparked renewed discussion over the banner and its meaning.

The current Georgia flag dates from 1956. It was adopted by the state assembly as a symbol of defiance to desegregation and the civil rights movement, which was fighting to bring down the system of Jim Crow segregation in the South. "This will show that we in Georgia intend to uphold what we stood for, will stand for and will fight for," said Denmark Groover, a state representative, at that time. The same session of the state assembly that adopted the Confederate flag also voted to make it a felony to teach in a racially integrated school.

The idea of changing the flag back to its pre-1956 form was raised in 1987, when State Rep. Frank Redding proposed changing the flag after an attack on civil rights marchers in Forsyth County. That attack was met by a countermobilization of thousands of antiracist demonstrators.

In 1988 the NAACP gathered 16,000 signatures on petitions urging that the state flag be changed. Last year the Georgia Civil Rights Network, a coalition that includes the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the National Organization for Women, and other groups, announced a new effort to get rid of the current flag. Students from predominantly Black Clark-Atlanta University have also organized protests demanding the flag be changed.

The debate began to heat up again when Gov. Zell Miller announced last year that he supported changing the flag. Miller made the proposal the focus of his January 13 State of the State message and introduced legislation to implement it. This has sparked a flood of articles in the big-business media and a countercampaign by those who want to keep the Confederate symbol flying over schools and government buildings.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans are spearheading this countercampaign. They have put up a series of billboards around Atlanta that demand, "Keep the flag," with a huge picture of the current banner. They also organized a demonstration of several hundred at the state capitol January 19. Among the more well-known "sons" are the ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan, who ran for president last year; Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina; Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; retired Gen. William Westmoreland; and other capitalist political figures known for their anti-working-class views.

Miller's current move to restore the pre-1956 banner comes at a time when many in Georgia's ruling circles are trying to promote Atlanta's image as a modern, international city that has moved beyond its backward, segregationist past. A big factor is the upcoming 1996 Summer Olympics, which will draw people from all over the world and receive international media attention.

Supporters of the current flag argue that it doesn't symbolize racism and segregation, only a much-vaunted "Southern heritage."

The Confederate flag is also featured on the state flags of Mississippi and South Carolina. In Alabama, controversy over the flag has been renewed following an Alabama Circuit Court judge's January ruling that the Confederate battle flag could not be displayed over the state capitol. It had flown there since 1963, when it was raised by then-Gov. George Wallace, a leading segregationist.

"The Georgia flag certainly should be changed, and so should those of Mississippi and South Carolina," said Miguel Zárte of the Socialist Workers Party in Atlanta.

"That change is long overdue. Many, many working people of all races are opposed to having such a symbol of racism, slavery, and segregation in the state flag."

"The sentiment for changing the flag is pretty universal among Black people, who were the chief victims of the slave system before and during the Civil War and the system of Jim Crow segregation that was

violently imposed on the South's toilers following the war. But many workers and youth of all colors also see the Confederate flag as a symbol that divides us. Workers who are white have no interest in identifying with the legacy of segregation, which weakened and divided the entire working class for decades and whose effects the labor movement must still fight against.

"There is no common 'Southern heritage', that's just demagoguery used by those who benefited from segregation in the past and who want to keep working people divided today."

"Workers and small farmers — Black, white, Indian, and those of other races — were exploited and oppressed in the South, first by the slavocracy and then by the landowners and capitalists who came to power in the post-Civil War South. The heritage working people in southern states should identify with isn't that one, but our history of struggle — to end slavery, to bring down

Jim Crow, and to strengthen the labor movement as part of the international working class," said Zárte.

Some officials and government bodies are already getting rid of the flag themselves, prior to the vote in the State Assembly. The *Atlanta Constitution* reported that state court judge John Allen, a Black judge in a majority white district, has removed the flag from his courtroom. Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson lowered the flag at City Hall February 4 and raised the pre-1956 banner. The city school board also ordered the state flags brought down in 113 schools, and DeKalb County chief executive officer Liane Levetan had the state flag removed from all county facilities.

Susan LaMont is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365 at Arrow Shirt in Austell, Georgia.

## New evidence exposes cops' key role in anti-Muslim massacres in Bombay

BY GREG ROSENBERG

A February 4 *New York Times* article sheds light on the role of the police in violence that killed more than 600 people in Bombay in January. The article includes excerpts from police radio transcripts that have not been published in Indian newspapers.

The events in Bombay can be accurately described as an anti-Muslim pogrom. At least 2,000 were injured and thousands more made homeless. Mobs organized by the rightist Shiv Sena (Shiva's Army) rampaged through the city of 12.5 million people, burning entire neighborhoods, tearing down Muslim owned shops, dragging Muslims from apartments and beating or hacking them to death. The attacks were part of violence that spread across India following the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque by right-wing Hindus December 6.

Nazira Khatoon told the *Times* how a gang broke into her house. "The mob of 250 came. They were with swords and stones, and they pushed me into the bathroom. They took all my property and killed my son in front of me. The police just stood there watching."

In one transcript officials at police headquarters repeatedly told cops in the streets to let Muslim homes burn and prevent aid from reaching the victims. "Let it burn," said an official. "Burn everything."

Police in the Dongri district asked their control headquarters what to do with two trucks filled with milk to relieve Muslim victims. "Why are you distributing milk to them?" asked the controlling officer. "Do not distribute milk to the [Muslims]. Have you understood?" He then ordered, "Seize that vehicle."

Ninety percent of the people who died in Bombay immediately following the December Ayodhya events were reportedly killed by police.

Bombay is India's commercial center.



More than 600 people were killed in Bombay, India, during anti-Muslim riots in January. Police helped fuel the violence.

Many of the country's capitalist elite reside there, and it is the center of a large filmmaking industry. While most of the violence was directed against working people who are Muslim, even the wealthy neighborhoods did not completely escape. Shoba Dé, a popular author who is married to a prominent businessman, said that Shiv Sena mobs searched apartment buildings in her neighborhood, looking for Muslims.

The Muslim families were expelled from their apartments and their doors padlocked shut.

The violence in India is the result of a political campaign by rightist groups — often wrapped in religious appeals — that uses the politics of resentment. The campaign is led by the Bharatiya Janata Party, the main opposition to the ruling Congress Party of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. The right wing scapegoats Muslims especially for India's massive economic crisis.

In Bombay the local expression of this is Shiv Sena, which has carried out other anti-Muslim pogroms. Bal Thackeray, a Shiv Sena leader, told a *Times* reporter, "Those who started the riots," meaning Muslims, "have learned their lessons well." In keeping with the rightist notion of a Hindu India, Thackeray said he is against "all Muslims from Bangladesh and from Pakistan, those elements come to my country to create trouble." He added, "those Muslims who might have given them shelter must be kicked out." Thackeray spoke guarded by Bombay police armed with submachine guns.

In some cases labor unions run by Shiv Sena intimidate workers who are Muslim, preventing them from returning to their jobs. During the worst periods of violence, however, there were several reports of working people, Hindu and Muslim, joining together in Bombay to defend their neighborhoods against the Shiv Sena thugs.

## S. Africa talks mark further step forward

Continued from front page

which the ANC placed on the negotiating table," Ramaphosa concluded in the ANC statement, "the realisation of a peaceful and democratic order is within our reach."

De Klerk's regime initially claimed the talks had agreed to five years of "power sharing" between the ruling National Party and the ANC. Such a plan would short-circuit the fight for the democratic election of a new government.

Following the talks the ANC held a news conference. Contrary to the government's claims, Ramaphosa insisted that the aim of the ANC in the negotiations remained to move to full democracy by majority rule. The ANC would not make an agreement to share power beyond nine months in a government of national unity, he said, explaining that this is a standing ANC policy. And such a government would only be for the period leading up

to constitutional elections and just after.

New York *Newsday* reported that following the talks, the ANC said it was ready to review its stand on economic sanctions against South Africa. This came after Archbishop Desmond Tutu shifted his position on the issue and said he was ready to see sanctions lifted as soon as an interim government is in place, rather than wait for a new government.

In a speech in Johannesburg February 13, ANC president Nelson Mandela "categorically" denied that a power-sharing arrangement through 1999 had been reached, reported the *Washington Post*. "The ANC proposes an interim government of national unity, which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of seats in a constituent assembly," he said. Such a government, he added, "is not power-sharing."

Nelson Mandela also explained these pro-

posals in an interview in the February issue of *Mayibuye*, an ANC magazine, where he commented on the organization's strategic perspective document adopted in November. The essence of that document, he said, "is to ensure the transfer of political power from a minority government to the people as a whole. It is based on the acceptance of the principle of majority rule and the total elimination of all forms of apartheid and minority rule."

"We totally reject a forced coalition as the government demands," Mandela said. "The party that emerges strongest in the election, especially if it has the overall majority, should be called upon to form the government," he continued. "That party is then free to invite other political parties with a significant following to join the government."

In an article in the New York *Amsterdam* *Continued on Page 12*



# 45,000 demonstrate in Montreal against gov't benefit cuts

BY CAROLE CARON  
AND ROSEMARY RAY

MONTREAL — "Let's fight unemployment, not its victims; We must prevent that," proclaimed the head banner of the 45,000-strong demonstration against the Canadian government's proposed Bill C-105 which will cut unemployment benefits. The action took place here February 7.

Organized by Quebec's three main union federations, the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) — and braving sub-zero temperatures — the crowd came in busloads from all over Quebec to show their opposition to the bill.

Another demonstration occurred in Chicoutimi, where 1,500 gathered, and additional actions took place in Rouyn and Chandler.

Showing signs saying, "Working — a question of dignity," "Bill C-105, a setback for workers," "We want jobs, not cuts," and "Those cuts bring us back to slavery," working members of steel, auto, construction, nursing, and many other unions marched alongside contingents from unemployed, homeless, anti-poverty, and student organizations.

Bill C-105, tabled last December by federal employment minister Bernard Valcourt and set for adoption in April, proposes changes to Canada's Unemployment Insurance act that would reduce government benefits paid to the unemployed to 57 percent of insurable earnings from the current 60 percent. It would also cut off benefits completely to workers who quit their jobs without "just cause" or who are fired for "misconduct."

"The only misconduct is Brian's" read one sign, referring to Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney.

"This law is unacceptable," commented one worker in the machinists' contingent. "The bosses will start firing workers for

'misconduct' at random." "They will start giving us a hard time," added another, "without us being able to defend ourselves for fear of 'misconduct.' This is insane."

"This is my first demonstration," explained a high school student. "There were signs up on the walls at school. I had to come because one day I'll be a worker too."

"I have been trying to get a job for quite a while now," explained an unemployed worker. "I would have come even if I had a job."

Currently, those who quit jobs or are fired lose 7 to 12 weeks of benefits, and after that receive 50 percent of insurable earnings. Under Bill C-105 they will get nothing. If they can't find a job and have no other source of revenue, they can apply for welfare.

In Quebec, however, what they will get is not welfare, but a loan for as long as the unemployment benefits would have lasted. If they still can't get a job they will then go on welfare, but their allowance will be cut to repay the loan.

The law says people would still be allowed to collect benefits if they quit their job because of sexual or racial harassment; moving to follow a spouse; unsafe and unhealthy working conditions; or caring for a child. Workers would have to prove their claim to the Unemployment Insurance Commission. This process can take up to six months, during which workers receive no benefits. According to Gilles Paquette, from the FTQ, already 7 out of 10 cases of benefits refused are overturned on appeal.

The *Montreal Gazette* gave an example in its February 7 edition of a woman who had to quit her part-time job to take care of her two children. She lost 11 weeks of benefits. She eventually got the decision reversed but only after going for months without the benefits to which she was entitled.

This law comes at a time when the official national unemployment rate in Canada is 11 percent. In the province of Quebec, it is 13.2 percent, and in Montreal, it reached 14.2



Protest on February 7 was organized by Quebec's three main union federations

percent last month. In Quebec, 434,000 households depend on welfare payments, and 27 percent of the working population is either on welfare or receives unemployment benefits.

Many demonstrators, both those currently working and not, explained that nobody is unemployed by choice, that working is a right. "What is very costly," explained Lorraine Pagé, president of the CEQ, at the rally, "is not unemployment benefits, it is the lack of jobs. What is costly are not social services, but subsidies to companies that then shut down and move out."

One striking example is Premium Automotive Tank Inc., a factory in Nova Scotia which received millions from that province's government since 1987 to remain open. They recently shut down without even notifying the workers.

Pagé ended her talk by saying, "In 1993, the government must change its policies or take the door." The crowd started dancing and chanting, "The door! The door!"

The massive demonstration sparked a national debate on Bill C-105. Valcourt keeps

claiming that the proposed reductions and penalties on unemployment benefits will reduce the \$8 billion deficit in the Unemployment Insurance Fund and curb "abuses of the system." He says that "real workers" and the "real unemployed" will agree with him.

He is being echoed by the bosses and bankers in Canada through their main association, the Chamber of Commerce, which the day after the demonstration issued a communiqué in support of Valcourt's law, claiming a lack of money to pay for the social services working people won through hard fought battles.

Fernand Daoust, president of the FTQ, in closing the rally, paid tribute to workers in struggle such as the Nationair flight attendants who have been locked-out for 15 months. He said that the fight against Bill C-105 is "the same battle" for employed and unemployed. "It is a battle that has just begun."

Workers at the federal employment centers, who are members of the Canada Employment and Immigration Union, have announced that they intend to help the unemployed claim benefits by producing a handbook giving advice on how to get the maximum unemployment benefits possible and how to deal with the appeals process if benefits are denied. Another demonstration has been called for February 20 in Ottawa.

*Carole Caron is a member of Lodge 712 of the International Association of Machinists. Rosemary Ray is a member of Local 1900 of the Canadian Autoworkers Union.*

## Miners' strike enters its third week

Continued from front page  
companies are used to obscure the real ownership of mining operations.

Rank-and-file miners here, who have seen many union jobs disappear in this fashion, believe the companies must be forced to disclose all their mining operations in order to negotiate a fair contract.

The issue of hiring at new mines opened by BCOA companies was explicitly addressed in the 1988 contract between the union and the coal bargaining group. According to that agreement three out of five workers hired at new mines were to be union members. But as miners at Peabody and other BCOA companies readily testify, that clause in the agreement is almost universally breached.

"We will either win a major victory here or we will be busted one at a time, and quickly," explained Libby Lindsey, a miner at the Eagle Nest mine in Boone County, which is working under a 60-day contract extension. Miners, he said, "want to be part of a real fight."

### Company claims of violence

Many miners point with humor to recent articles in area newspapers featuring allegations of picket line violence made by Eastern Associated Coal Corp. president Peter Lilly. Eastern, a Peabody subsidiary, is asking the National Labor Relations Board to seek a federal court injunction against the miners. Quoted in the February 13 *Charleston Gazette*, Lilly claimed that less than two weeks into the strike "dozens of illegal acts have been committed, including gunfire, rocks thrown at employees, threats of violence against employees and their families, flattening of tires and mass picketing and obstruction of access to and from mine sites."

The company has also sent letters to its employees urging them to return to work.

The latest letter says Eastern does not operate any nonunion mines, but warns strikers that contracts could be shifted as a result of the strike and miners could end up working at nonunion operations.

Miners point to Eastern's allegations as a crude attempt to smear the strike as violent. Contrary to company charges, picketing has been virtually without incident.

Operating under a court order stemming from a strike in the mid-1980s and covering all UMWA locals in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the union has conducted strike training sessions for all strikers, stressing the need for disciplined conduct on the picket line.

### Illinois miners get broad support

Peabody is making a show of force at its Illinois mines, where security guards sit in vans across the road from each picket site. But their presence has done little to dampen strikers' spirit or limit their organization and preparation to outlast the coal giant.

In Marissa, Illinois, one of the centers of the walkout in the Midwest, a strike kitchen opened February 10 at the local community center. The kitchen is staffed 24 hours a day by the UMWA women's auxiliary, comprised mostly of miners' wives. Almost all the food and utensils are donated by local businesses and strike supporters. Local restaurants are also offering discount meals to Peabody strikers and their families.

Strikers dressed in camouflage maintain picket lines around the clock, seven days a week, at the 11 entrances to Peabody mines and preparation plants in southern Illinois. A shack warmed by a kerosene heater is situated at each picket site. Big hand-painted signs declare "No more broken promises," "Peabody unfair labor practices," and "Solidarity '93."

Most cars driving by honk or wave to show support for the strike. Some stop to

chat and drop off food and snacks for the strikers.

"We know the issue of nonunion coal is the main reason for the strike," explained Mike DeLost, chair of the strike committee of UMWA Local 1148 at Peabody Coal's Pit Number 6 near Marissa. "Peabody owns 54 underground mines and 17 surface mines, and made \$265 million in profits. Most of the coal produced by Peabody is union coal and we want to keep it that way."

The striking miners are also getting out word of their fight in St. Louis, which is near the southern Illinois coalfields. They began picketing Peabody's downtown headquarters there as part of a campaign to pressure the company and to explain the issues in the strike to a broader audience.

Meanwhile the UMWA is conducting mass strike training sessions for miners at other companies in the BCOA. Several thousand Consolidation Coal miners held training meetings before the strike. About 1,500 Rochester and Pittsburgh miners in Pennsylvania attended a training session February 7.

While these miners continue to work, pending a union decision on whether to strike or accept a company offer of a 60-day contract extension, the training would allow UMWA members to join the walkout on short notice.

"Our experience is that union solidarity is a powerful tool for winning strikes," said UMWA president Richard Trumka February 15 before attending the annual AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida. "When the strength of the entire U.S. labor movement is mobilized, striking workers can project power far beyond their own picket lines."

*Kate Kaku, reporting from Illinois, contributed to this article.*

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# U.S. rulers debate lifting Cuba embargo

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

A debate is unfolding among the U.S. rulers on whether to lift Washington's trade embargo against Cuba. At issue in the debate is whether the 32-year-long embargo serves the U.S. government's policy of undermining the Cuban revolution.

Since workers and farmers in Cuba toppled a U.S.-backed dictatorship in 1959 and carried out a deep-going social revolution, Washington's unwavering goal has been to overthrow the revolutionary government there. The U.S. government has maintained the economic embargo, together with military and political attacks and provocations, in an effort to bring Cuba to its knees.

Some prominent figures in U.S. political and government circles, however, are now publicly arguing that the embargo has not served its purpose. Not only has Cuba not collapsed, they point out, but more and more countries have economic and diplomatic relations with Havana. In fact, as trade rivalries between Washington and its competitors in Europe, Canada, and Japan intensify, businesses in those countries are taking advantage of the U.S. embargo to expand their own commercial dealings with the Caribbean nation.

An example of the growing public controversy over the Cuba embargo was a television debate that aired January 24 on the McLaughlin Group, a nationally syndicated program. Host John McLaughlin, a well-known conservative, bluntly stated, "The time has come for the U.S. embargo — first on tourism, then on trade — to be lifted."

Explaining his conclusions from a trip to Cuba earlier that month, McLaughlin argued, "First, Cuba is no threat whatsoever to the United States, so why the embargo? Second, instead of helping rid Cuba of [President Fidel] Castro, the embargo props



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

**Farm workers and volunteers plant banana tree seedlings at camp near Havana. Despite trade embargo and sharp drop in trade with former Soviet Union, Cuba's economy has not collapsed and most Cuban working people support revolution. Now U.S. rulers are weighing lifting embargo in hopes of boosting opposition to government.**

him up."

He remarked that most people in Cuba support the revolution and — as Cubans themselves told him — social gains such as "health care, education, an improved diet and racial equality." The majority of the population, he said, "regard Castro, still, as the embodiment of Cuban nationalism" because of those advances.

McLaughlin added that "Spain, Italy, Japan, and Brazil are all involved in joint [business] ventures with Cuba" and that in spite of Cuba's serious economic difficulties, the U.S. embargo had not succeeded in undermining the country's economy. In fact, he complained, "the embargo denies the U.S. a commercial market of 11 million consumers that other nations are exploiting."

The conservative commentator, who refers to the Cuban government as a "police state," sharply criticized the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, the law enacted last October that tightens the embargo by prohibiting U.S. subsidiaries abroad from trading with Cuba. He said the measure, also known as the Torricelli law after its sponsor, Rep. Robert Torricelli, has backfired on Washington.

"Torricelli has helped Castro," McLaughlin insisted. "It has refueled and reinvigorated his anti-American political rhetoric, which serves to rouse the spirit of Cuban nationalism." Instead of isolating Cuba, the Torricelli act has made Washington the target of criticism throughout Latin America, he said.

## 'I say lift the embargo'

Another panelist on the TV show, *New Republic* senior editor Fred Barnes, also a prominent conservative, agreed with McLaughlin. "I say lift the embargo," he declared.

Barnes predicted that "despite President Clinton's support of the embargo of Cuba, there will be steps taken in his administration, small steps, toward normalization of relations with Cuba."

The other three journalists on the panel, Eleanor Clift, Morton Kondracke, and Christopher Matthews, argued weakly for keeping the trade ban. McLaughlin concluded the debate saying, "The best way to get rid of Castro is to lift the embargo."

This debate reflects a problem the U.S. rulers face: In spite of their unrelenting efforts to strangle Cuba and the hardships they have imposed on the Cuban people, the embargo has been getting weaker, not tighter.

Capitalist countries today account for the majority of Cuba's trade. Prior to 1989, 85 percent of Cuba's imports were from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Since the shattering of the bureaucratic regimes in those countries — which sold Cuba machinery that was notoriously backward and inefficient — Cuba has begun to incorporate more technology from imperialist countries such as Japan, Canada, Germany, Britain, and Spain.

At the same time, U.S. subsidiaries

abroad carried out more than \$700 million worth of trade with Cuba in 1991. This includes major corporations like the agricultural giant Cargill, now pinched by the new trade restrictions.

Because of this, the Torricelli bill has been a particular source of controversy since it was first proposed. In fact, the signing of that bill was strictly a product of the U.S. presidential race.

Until a few weeks before he signed it, Bush had consistently opposed the measure, arguing it would lead to unnecessary confrontations with other imperialist powers. The White House was also worried about legal complications involving U.S. subsidiaries that traded with Cuba.

Early in the election campaign, candidate Bill Clinton publicly declared himself in support of the Torricelli bill and campaigned for it. He began to make inroads among right-wing Cuban-American forces in southern Florida, long considered a Bush stronghold.

In his last-ditch effort to win the elections, Bush jumped on the bandwagon and demonstratively signed the bill. In doing so, Bush put narrow partisan and electoral considerations above the interests of major sections of the U.S. ruling class.

## Torricelli bill backfires

The Torricelli law, and the public campaign for its approval by some capitalist politicians, gave an impetus to the recent series of hijackings and other provocative acts by Cuban counterrevolutionaries, which the U.S. government has so far refused to crack down on.

The Torricelli bill, however, has turned into a political liability for Washington. Just weeks after the bill was signed, the United Nations voted resoundingly to condemn the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Only Israel and Romania voted with the U.S. delegate. Imperialist governments, such as those of France, Canada, and New Zealand, joined the repudiation of the embargo.

As a result, the divisions within the U.S. ruling class over the trade ban have widened. A significant section believes Washington should lift the embargo. They hope this will lead to greater internal pressures on the Cuban government to adopt more capitalist economic methods. They think the Cuban government is like the former Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and that a "democratic opening," prompted by Washington dropping the embargo, will lead to the overthrow of the revolution.

A sharp debate over these questions erupted at a February 3 congressional hearing on U.S. policy toward Latin America. Peter Hakim, acting president of the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue (IAD), argued strongly for lifting parts of the embargo. He and another witness at the hearing clashed with Rep. Torricelli and a few other members of Congress who defend the trade restrictions.

Several members of the IAD, a liberal think tank, are now members of Clinton's

cabinet. Among them are Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt.

Last October an IAD task force issued a report on Cuba that has circulated widely among ruling-class circles. The task force members who signed the report include Babbitt, former secretary of defense Elliot Richardson, former national security adviser McGeorge Bundy, and former U.S. diplomat Sol Linowitz.

Testifying at the congressional hearing, Hakim reiterated some of the main proposals of that report:

- The Torricelli law should be dumped.
- "The U.S. government should... allow all U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba" and lift the ban on all other "transactions that foster communications." This would include reinstituting direct mail service and improving telephone links between the two countries.
- Washington should "vigorously condemn violent actions by exile groups" and enforce the Neutrality Act.

Contending that the embargo is "unproductive," Hakim called for the U.S. government "to begin bargaining with Cuba" with a carrot-and-stick approach: offer to lift the rest of the embargo and press for "reforms." The report also urged Washington to rely heavily on other Latin American governments to pressure Havana.

## Fight over Baeza nomination

The debate on the embargo against Cuba has also surfaced in the current wrangle over Clinton's nomination of Mario Baeza for the top Latin America post in the State Department. Baeza is a senior partner at the Wall Street law firm Debevoise and Plimpton, where he specializes in privatization deals in Latin America.

Influential business interests and forces in the Clinton administration, including Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, are pushing Baeza's nomination as assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. The Congressional Black Caucus also backs Baeza, a Cuban-American who is Black.

Political forces that aggressively support the trade and travel bans, led by Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), have raised a storm over Baeza's nomination, saying he appears to favor an opening toward the Cuban government. Baeza's opponents cite two trips he made to Cuba, one in 1988 as part of a U.S. delegation to an international conference of jurists, the other sponsored last June by the British magazine *Euromoney* to study foreign investments in Cuba. At the second conference, according to the *Miami Herald*, Baeza commented that among U.S. companies, "More people are discovering the subsidiary trade angle."

More significantly, Baeza's backers have countermobilized with substantial support. The January 28 *Herald* reported that after an initial flurry of anti-Baeza calls, "senior Clinton officials say they are now receiving scores of faxes, letters and

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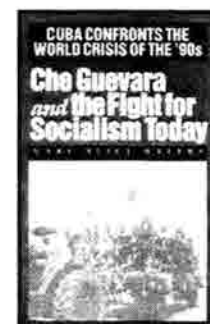
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of the political consciousness and spirit of volunteer labor on the part of millions of Cuban toilers." — Mary-Alice Waters

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phone calls from Baeza supporters, far more than from critics."

After Baeza himself issued a statement saying he opposed the Cuban government and downplaying his trips to the island, support for him picked up even more. The *Herald* editorialized, "Mr. Baeza's nomination deserves to be heard." The Clinton administration, while seeking to avoid a controversy over the appointment and lining up alternative candidates, has not withdrawn Baeza's name.

#### Debate among Cuban-Americans

The Baeza dispute has deepened the debate among Cuban-Americans over U.S. policy toward Cuba. "It has been reported that the Cuban-American community is op-

posed to the nomination of Mario Baeza. This is not true," stated an open letter to President Clinton that appeared as an ad in the Spanish-language edition of the *Herald*. "Do not let yourself be influenced by a noisy minority," continued the letter, which was signed by 60 prominent Cuban-Americans.

Some 40 people, including former Florida Democratic Party chairman Alfredo Durán, held a press conference in Miami to back Baeza. Other supporters include Raúl Masvidal, a wealthy banker and a founder of CANF. That organization, which virulently opposes any step toward normalizing relations with Cuba, is itself campaigning against the Wall Street attorney.

A significant proportion of the Cuban-American community favors moves to-

ward normalization of ties with the Caribbean island. According to a Florida International University survey conducted in 1991, two out of three Cubans living in Florida's Dade County favor a U.S. dialogue with Cuba. Most Cuban-Americans have relatives on the island and are concerned about the hardships caused by the embargo, as well as the U.S.-imposed obstacles in travel and communications to and from Cuba.

In a sign of the growing isolation and fracturing of the right-wing exile organizations, an increasingly bitter feud between the CANF and the Valladares Foundation broke out in public as the two groups fought to claim credit for aiding a pilot who hijacked an airliner from Cuba last December.

More recently, the Florida International University administration decided January 29 to suspend a young rightist of Cuban origin, Marcel Felipe, for an incident he was involved in last October at a campus meeting where two youth leaders from Cuba spoke in defense of the revolution. The public meeting of 200 people, mostly Cuban-Americans, took place successfully despite an attempt by a minority in the audience to disrupt it. After the meeting ended, Felipe assaulted Tony Thomas, an usher at the event.

The action against Felipe is a significant blow to the right-wing forces and a boost to those who support greater exchanges and ties between Cuba and the United States.

## Washington, D.C., debate on U.S.-Cuba relations

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A lively debate on the state of relations between the United States and Cuba took place here at an event organized to mark the 140th anniversary of the birth of Cuba's national hero, José Martí.

Close to 150 people packed the Washington Peace Center January 29 to hear Alfonso Fraga, the new head of the Cuban Interests Section here; Wayne Smith, former chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Cuba, under the Carter administration; and others.

One topic of discussion was the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act, known as the Torricelli bill after its sponsor. The legislation tightens the 32-year-long embargo against Cuba by prohibiting foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms from trading with the island.

Smith expressed his hope that the Clinton administration was beginning to distance itself from right-wing forces among Cubans in the United States. He pointed to the debate that broke out over Clinton's first choice of a Black Cuban-American, Mario Baeza, for the post of assistant secretary for inter-American affairs.

Jorge Mas Canosa, head of the rightist Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), opposes the nomination, citing Baeza's visit to Cuba last year. Mas Canosa put forward another name, which Clinton has not accepted. (See article above.)

Smith spoke against the Torricelli bill on grounds that it would cause problems for U.S. trade and political relations with Europe, Canada, and Mexico. Smith admitted to helping write some paragraphs of the U.S. trade embargo in the 1960s.

The result of the Torricelli law "will be to cause us more problems than the Cubans. To the extent it does have an impact on Cuba, the impact will be on the Cuban people," he said.

While not seeing any immediate prospects for ending the trade ban, Smith said he thought Washington could "lift the embargo on sale of foods and medicine and lift travel controls." He called for a "dialogue to discuss the problems between the U.S. and Cuba . . . to try to reduce the level of rhetoric on both sides to reach some sensible compromise," and for the U.S. government to "drop its pressures against Cuba."

Smith also urged the Cubans to "move toward a more open political and economic system," which he said would have to come from within Cuba.

Fraga, Cuba's highest-ranking diplomat in the United States, spoke about the contributions of José Martí to the fight against Spanish colonialism. He hailed the 1959 triumph of the Cuban revolution when "the ideals fiercely defended by Martí and others became a reality and Martí's thought finally merged with the renewed ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. With the strong spirit of the Cuban people, the first revolution in the Western hemisphere was made."

Departing from his prepared text, the diplomat took the time to respond to the main points made by Smith. As the chief representative of the Cuban government, Fraga said, he would not address the question of the Baeza appointment. "The Baeza question is not our problem," Fraga stated. "It is

a U.S. problem."

Regarding Smith's proposal for a dialogue, Fraga responded, "As my friend Wayne knows perfectly well, we have been prepared to sit down and discuss with the U.S. government the whole Cuban-American development, of course, on the basis of respect for our sovereignty, our independence, and our principles."

Fraga reminded the audience that "since the very beginning of the revolution the U.S. government had already decided on a definitive strategy that continues to be the destruction of the revolution — pressures, blackmail, breaking of relations, invasions, fostering of counterrevolutionary armed bands, numerous attempts to assassinate Cuban leaders, the economic embargo, and most recently the Torricelli act."

He denounced this latest attempt "aimed at destabilizing Cuba politically and economically, defeating the Cuban people with hunger, and trampling on the proud achievements Cuba has made in public health, education, social security, scientific culture, and economic development."

"All of this has failed over the past 34 years," the Cuban diplomat declared, "and we are convinced it will be that way forever."

Despite the difficult times Cuba is going through, Fraga said, Cuba is not alone and enjoys prestige and authority won in international forums in support of sovereignty, independence, and self-determination.

William Worthy, a visiting professor at Howard University who was prosecuted for travel to Cuba in 1961 after the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs, also spoke on the platform. He last visited Cuba in September 1992.

Worthy said the Cuba solidarity movement had been "ineffective" over the past 30 years in reaching out to others in the United States. He raised several ideas of how to gain a hearing among broader audiences to convince them "to force the U.S. government to stop trying to starve a small nation into abject submission."

Teresa Gutiérrez, a participant in the Pastors for Peace U.S.-Cuba Friendship last November, spoke about the organization's success in delivering some 12 tons of humanitarian aid to Cuba.

The meeting was chaired by Angela Sanbrano, executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

During the question-and-answer period, Fraga was asked what he thought the Clinton presidency would bring. Fraga pointed to Clinton's call for change, which he said "might be in our favor."

"We think it is time they review their policy. It is an unjust policy, a criminal policy against our country," he said. But, he added, "We will be patient. We have been waiting for 34 years and if we have to wait a couple more years, that is part of our history. We will survive this difficult period. And you can be sure we will defend

our sovereignty and independence forever."

Several opponents of the Cuban revolution were in the audience. One said he opposed the CANF and their violent tactics. He argued for lifting the embargo not only because "it might end some of the suffering in Cuba, but also could lead to significant political change in Cuba."

He stated the opinion that the Cuban revolution was not yet finished and accused the current government of sticking to very few of its original principles. He said Cuba had never really achieved independence, but rather had been dependent on the Soviet bloc.

Some members of the audience who supported the revolution tried to shout him down and prevent him from finishing his statement.

Sanbrano regained control of the meeting and explained, "We are here to learn and analyze. In the spirit of trying to open up the debate, the way we are going to advance solidarity and strategize around how we can best build solidarity is by understanding what the issues are." It was in that spirit, she said, that she let the speaker finish his remarks.

Sanbrano ended the meeting with an appeal for everyone to work together to end the trade embargo. She also urged participants to work to lift the travel ban so U.S. citizens can travel to Cuba and Cubans can visit the United States in order to learn and exchange ideas.

## Clinton backs UN plan to partition Bosnia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Shifting its position once again, the Clinton administration announced February 10 its backing for the plan proposed earlier by United Nations mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to partition Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 autonomous cantons along ethnic lines. The announcement, made by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, included the commitment of U.S. military might to enforce any peace accord.

Republican senator Richard Lugar said Christopher had told him that as many as 10,000 U.S. troops could join a 40,000-member NATO force to be deployed in Bosnia.

The new White House position includes proposals to toughen the sanctions against Serbia. At the same time, Christopher stopped even referring to earlier hints that Washington might push for lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia or using force to compel rightist Serbian forces to allow relief convoys to deliver food and medical aid to besieged towns in eastern Bosnia.

The *Washington Post* reported February 14 that despite the arms embargo massive weapons smuggling is being organized, mainly to Croatia. Tanks, heavy artillery, missiles, and rifles from Germany, Hungary, and Poland have boosted the fighting capacity of the Croatian army, which recently opened an offensive against Serbian separatists who occupy parts of the republic.

The U.S. government dispatched Reginald Bartholomew, its current chief envoy to NATO, to take part directly in the UN

negotiations over the Vance-Owen plan. Christopher said Washington will not attempt for the moment to impose a "peace" settlement on the warring factions as Vance and Owen had demanded last week.

The governments of Germany, France, and Britain welcomed the Clinton administration's announcement but had different assessments of its implications. "The provision of United States ground troops in implementation is absolutely vital," a British official told the *New York Times*. The French foreign ministry said it welcomed avoiding direct military intervention "before an agreement has been reached."

At the United Nations, both Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian foreign minister, and Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serbian Democratic Party, which has led the carnage in Bosnia, welcomed Clinton's proposals. Karadzic said he was "relieved" Washington did not intend to intervene for the moment. Bosnian government officials were more reluctant in supporting U.S. involvement in the peace talks.

The Russian government of Boris Yeltsin sent its own negotiator to take part in the UN talks. Moscow has already backed the Vance-Owen plan but warned it might oppose tougher sanctions on Serbia.

#### Debate continues over U.S. position

There is no unanimity among the U.S. rulers over Washington's new posture. Many bourgeois commentators and capitalist politicians are fearful of the prospect of deployment of ground troops.

A February 12 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "Clinton's World Disorder" cautioned that "committing American troops" might lead to "the aimless gradualism that got us trapped into Vietnam."

"Marching Blind Into Bosnia" was the title of a February 11 *New York Times* editorial. "As if his first three weeks [in office] had not been bumpy enough," the *Times* editors wrote, "Clinton now places a tentative foot on the slippery slope of military engagement."

The editorial, which called the Vance-Owen plan a "non-solution," opposed the prospective use of U.S. ground troops and praised Clinton's earlier positions of using air power to bomb Serbian positions and enforce a no-fly zone over Bosnia.

Columnist Charles Krauthammer argued that the U.S. president should have just endorsed the Vance-Owen plan, stayed away from negotiations, and left it up to governments in western Europe and Russia to enforce any peace settlement.

Others, however, stepped up their calls for more aggressive use of military force by Washington. "We are entering the season that will decide whether NATO lives or dies," wrote William Safire in a column reprinted in the February 13 *Conservative Chronicle*. He argued for more aggressive U.S. involvement in a "muscular NATO force."

Leslie Gelb wrote in a February 11 piece in the *Times* that "only the prospect of the West intervening and/or arming Croats and Bosnian Muslims" is the way to go.



# How U.S. gov't used food aid as weapon after World War I

The U.S.-led invasion of Somalia has highlighted how the richest capitalist powers use their stocks of food to strengthen their grip over poor and backward nations.

This technique is not new. In the speech printed below, John Reed, a founding leader of the U.S. Communist Party, warned a 1920 congress of nearly 1,900 delegates from across central Asia to beware of offers of charity from Uncle Sam, who comes "with a sack stuffed with hay in one hand and a whip in the other."

Reed's speech was prepared for the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan. The congress was organized by the Communist International, which had been formed the previous year on the initiative of the Bolshevik Party of Russia.

As the congress convened, on Sept. 1, 1920, Europe and much of Asia was devastated by the effects of the 1914-18 world war. Food production had plummeted and working people in many countries were threatened by famine.

Meanwhile, the world capitalist order was challenged by an international revolutionary upsurge.

In November 1917 the Bolsheviks had led the workers and peasants of Russia in establishing their own revolutionary government, founding the Soviet republic. A year later, a tide of revolutionary struggles swept across the European continent. By 1920, liberation movements were challenging imperialist domination in Turkey, Iran, and other countries of Asia.

The main bulwark of world capitalist stability was the United States — the only major power that had emerged from the world war with increased wealth and productive capacity and with major reserves of food.

Four days after the war ended, Washington announced that food would be shipped to Germany, where hunger was widespread, but only if "public order is genuinely reestablished." This condition had been proposed by the German government to strengthen its hand against rebellious workers.

Meanwhile, the United States joined with other capitalist powers in a total blockade of war-ravaged Soviet Russia, an embargo still in force at the time of the Baku congress.

The workers and farmers of Armenia had suffered particularly from the war. Their plight had been publicized by ruling circles in the United States, who were aligned in the world war with the possessing classes of Armenia against Turkey and Germany. During the war, the government of Turkey had deported the entire Armenian population within Turkish borders with a brutality that bordered on genocide.

The U.S. copper miners mentioned by John Reed worked the Phelps-Dodge mines in Arizona. On July 12, 1917, more than 1,100 striking miners in Bisbee, Arizona, were rounded up by armed company goons, loaded into freight cars, and shipped into the desert, where they were held until the strike ended.

Because of time pressure, Reed's speech was not delivered to a session of the Baku congress. Delegates voted to publish his talk and to append it to the transcript of the proceedings, published in Russian in 1920. An English translation of the congress documents will appear in a forthcoming Pathfinder book. The text below is Copyright © Pathfinder, 1993, and is reprinted by permission.

\* \* \*

## BY JOHN REED

I represent here the revolutionary workers of one of the great imperialist powers, the United States of America, which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the colonies.

You, the peoples of the East, the peoples of Asia, have not yet experienced for yourselves the rule of America. You know and hate the British, French, and Italian imperialists, and probably you think that "free America" will govern better, will liberate the peoples of the colonies, will feed and defend them. . . .

Today the American capitalists are addressing friendly words to the peoples of the East, with a promise of aid and food. This applies especially to Armenia. Millions of dollars have been collected by the American millionaires in order to send bread to the starving Armenians. And many Armenians are now looking for help to Uncle Sam.

These same American capitalists incite the American workers and farmers against each other. They starve and exploit the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines. Savagely they kill American Negroes and burn them alive. And in America itself American workers are obliged to work under frightful conditions, receiving low wages for a long work-day. When they are exhausted they are thrown out on to the street, where they die of hunger.

The very gentleman now in charge of bringing aid to the starving Armenians, Mr. Cleveland Dodge, who writes emotional articles about how the Turks have driven the Armenians into the desert, is the owner of big copper mines where thousands of American workers are exploited. When these workers dared to go on strike, the guards protecting Mr. Dodge's mines drove them at bayonet point out into the desert — just as was done to the Armenians.

Many Armenians are grateful to America for its attitude to the Armenians who suffered from the brutality of the Turks during the war. But what has America done for the Armenians apart from issuing hollow declarations? Nothing. I was in Constantinople at that time, in 1915, and I know that the missionaries refused to make any serious protest against the atrocities, saying they had a lot of property in Turkey and so did not want to put pressure on the Turks. . . .

## Why do capitalists promise aid?

But why do the American capitalists promise aid and food to Armenia? Is it out of pure philanthropy? If so, let them feed the peoples of Central America and help the Negroes of America itself.

No. The main reason is that there is mineral wealth in Armenia, and that it is a big reservoir of cheap labor for exploitation by American capitalists.

The American capitalists want to win the confidence of the Armenians with a view to getting their claws into Armenia and enslav-



Humbert-Droz Archives

Session of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan, September 1920. "Promise food to starving peoples while organizing a blockade of the Soviet republics — that is the policy of the United States," said John Reed in his speech.

ing the Armenian nation. It is with that aim that American missionaries have established schools in the Near East.

But there is also another very important reason. Together with the other capitalist nations, united in the League of Nations, the American capitalists are afraid that the workers and peasants of Armenia will follow the example of Soviet Russia and Soviet Azerbaijan, take power, take their country's resources into their own hands, and work for themselves, making a united front with workers and peasants around the world against world imperialism. The American capitalists are afraid of a revolution in the East.

Promise food to starving peoples while organizing a blockade of the Soviet republics — that is the policy of the United States. The blockade of Soviet Russia has starved to death thousands of Russian women and children. This method of blockade was applied with the goal of turning the Hungarian people against their Soviet government. The same tactic is now being used with the goal of drawing the people of White Hungary into war against Soviet Russia.

This method is also being used on the small countries bordering Russia — Finland, Estonia, Latvia. But now all these small countries have been obliged to make peace with Soviet Russia — they are bankrupt and starving. Now the American government no longer offers them food; they are no longer of any use to America, and so their peoples can starve. . . .

No, comrades, Uncle Sam never gives anybody something for nothing. He comes along with a sack stuffed with hay in one hand and a whip in the other. Anyone who accepts Uncle Sam's promises at their face value will find that they must be paid for in sweat and blood.

American workers are demanding an ever larger share of the product of their labor. With a view to preventing revolution at home, the American capitalists are forced to seek out colonial peoples to exploit, peoples who will furnish sufficient profits to keep the American workers in obedience and so make them participants in the exploitation of the Armenians. I represent thousands of revolutionary American workers who know this. They understand that, acting together with the Armenian workers and peasants, with the toiling masses around the world, they will overthrow capitalism. World capitalism will be destroyed and all the peoples will be free.

We appreciate the need for solidarity among all oppressed and toiling peoples, for unity of the revolutionary workers of all the countries of Europe and America under the leadership of the Russian Bolsheviks, in the Communist International. And we say to you, peoples of the East: Do not believe the promises of the American capitalists!

There is only one road to freedom. Unite with the Russian workers and peasants who have overthrown their capitalists and whose Red Army has beaten the foreign imperialists. Follow the red star of the Communist International!

# Senate okays December invasion of Somalia

## BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington is trying to speed up the timetable for setting up a United Nations military force that can replace most of the U.S. troops still stationed in Somalia. Meanwhile, as the U.S. forces entered their third month in that East African country, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution endorsing the legality of the White House's use of troops there.

"It [is] important we act within the time frame provided in the War Powers resolution to reassert the principle which that Act represents," said Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, a Democrat. U.S. troops landed in Somalia December 9. Under the War Powers Act passed by Congress in 1973, U.S. troops involved in a military conflict abroad must be withdrawn within 60 days unless Congress authorizes the operation's continuation.

The Senate resolution sets no time limit for how long U.S. forces will remain in Somalia. It gives the president a free hand to continue deploying U.S. armed forces to implement the UN Security Council resolution. That resolution calls for the use of "all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment."

The *Wall Street Journal* reported February 8 that Washington and the United Nations are close to reaching an agreement on forming a well-armed UN replacement force.

There are currently 35,000 troops in Somalia with 21,000 of them from the United States. The UN force, which could involve

up to 20,000 soldiers, "would mark an important evolution from the U.N.'s traditionally more passive peacekeeping role," the *Journal* article states.

Washington hopes to model the mandate for this UN force on the same aggressive military doctrine on which U.S. troops have been operating in Somalia. "This type of mission is clearly where the UN has to go," said John Bolton, who was assistant secretary of state for international organizations in the Bush administration. "Somalia, Bosnia, none of these is a passive exercise."

As a contribution to this UN force, Washington is now promising to keep several thousand of its combat troops in Somalia "for several months" while the transfer takes place. The U.S. military is also planning to provide long-term logistical and communications support involving between 5,000 and 8,000 U.S. troops. It will place a 2,000-strong marine SWAT team offshore indefinitely as a rapid-deployment force.

Washington is also seeking agreement from Italy, Canada, and France — which together have nearly 7,000 soldiers in Somalia — to transfer their troops to the UN operation.

"A more active U.N. approach to the use of troops operating under its flag is needed," wrote Jim Hoagland in the February 2 *Washington Post*. "Achieving and contributing to that kind of successor force . . . should be the U.S. objective in Somalia now."

U.S. forces "went into Somalia, with the

overriding goal of getting out quickly," Hoagland continued. "Departure is the strategic goal of the Pentagon."

To nudge this process forward, Washington withdrew about 2,700 troops from Somalia in early February and announced that Robert Oakley, the U.S. special envoy to Somalia, will be replaced in March by United States Information Agency (USIA) official Robert Gosende. According to the *Washington Post*, Gosende, who served with the USIA in Somalia from 1968-70, "has been involved in identifying potential leaders in Somalia."

## Growing hostility to U.S. troops

Meanwhile, U.S. marines in Somalia are finding that the longer they stay, the greater the number of Somalis who view them as an occupation force and the greater the hostility to their presence.

In Mogadishu about 60 marines backed by two U.S. military helicopters intervened February 5 in what they claim was a dispute between two rival military groups. At least six Somalis were either killed or injured.

Later that day, more than 200 Somali youths hurled stones at U.S. troops, who they viewed as responsible for the deaths.

The day before, U.S. marines shot and killed a 13-year-old Somali boy who was approaching a U.S. marine vehicle in the noontime traffic on Mogadishu's main street. According to the *Post*, U.S. troops have shot to death an estimated 20 Somalis

Continued on Page 11



# Rally to support Trinity strikers set for March 6

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions. Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits.

A march and rally to support members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) on strike against

Trinity Industries will be held March 6 in Bessemer, Alabama. The event is sponsored by USWA District 36 and will take place at the Bessemer Civic Center. A car caravan will go through the city and past the rail-car plant.

Members of striking USWA Local 9226 are beginning to publicize the rally among trade unionists, community and church organizations, and student groups. Many see the rally as an important opportunity to widen support for the strike. Striker Darryl Turner stated, "Now is the time to step up the pressure on Trinity."

## ON THE PICKET LINE

Four strikers recently traveled to Atlanta, where they met with officials from two locals of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and addressed a meeting of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Officials from UAW Local 10 at General Motors and Local 880 at Ford Motor Co. discussed ways their locals could provide solidarity to the Trinity strike. AFSCME members took up a collection and donated more than \$100 to the strike.

"It was an excellent trip," Turner stated. "We were warmly received by the unionists we met with. People were very receptive to learning about our strike. Many said they were interested in coming to the March 6 rally."

A group of students from the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa recently visited the Local 9226 union hall and picket line. The students, members of a class studying labor law history, had discussions with the workers about the issues in the strike. They learned about Trinity's insistence that 53 unionists fired during the strike not be reinstated.

The students also spoke with people who live across the street from the plant about the tear-gas

attack that occurred October 12. That morning, thugs employed by Trinity lobbed tear-gas canisters into a peaceful picket line of several hundred workers. People in the neighborhood also felt the effects of the gas.

While no negotiations with Trinity have taken place in several weeks, the company has continued to harass strikers by accusing them of criminal acts. Police have recently arrested several unionists on charges such as criminal mischief, harassment, and trespassing.

Richard Lamb, a strikebreaker employed by Trinity, was also arrested and charged with third-degree assault after he hit a picket with his car while driving into the plant. The striker's wrist was fractured in the incident.

The number of scabs working in the plant remains low. Recently, a supervisor who had been demoted to production work came out and joined the union and another quit Trinity.

### Caterpillar workers resist company attacks

Caterpillar Inc., the world's largest manufacturer of earth-moving equipment, is continuing its onslaught against 15,000 workers, members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), at several plants. The company recently printed its unilaterally imposed "contract" in a booklet mailed to workers. The company plans to impose takebacks including a two-tier wage structure for new hires and recalled workers that tops out at \$8 an hour — less than half the current wage. Other takebacks include: no premium pay for work on weekends; cuts in health-care benefits; and attacks on seniority rights.

Caterpillar workers are continuing with their work-to-rule campaign. UAW "contract action teams" are planning to organize regular informational picketing in front of Caterpillar's offices in Peoria, Illinois.

Caterpillar has been running ads with slogans like "Together we move mountains." The UAW has responded with billboards reading, "You are now entering a war zone — Caterpillar vs. its UAW employees."

Workers continue to wear numerous buttons and once a week they wear red union T-shirts. One popular union shirt says, "Permanently Replace Fites," referring to Caterpillar's top executive, Donald Fites. The company makes workers tape over the word Fites or wear the shirts inside-out.

Workers at the Caterpillar plant in Decatur, Illinois, recently organized several actions to protest the contracting out of jobs to a company called Sub-Alliance. This nonunion outfit was set up by former Caterpillar executives and pays workers only \$6 an hour.

Several hundred union members have rallied in front of the Sub-Alliance plant and at the state capital in Springfield. The Illinois state government is subsidizing the Sub-Alliance plant. Caterpillar workers have also recently held rallies involving several hundred workers in Peoria and Aurora, Illinois.

### Garment workers protest boss's paycheck scheme

Workers at MRC Fashions, Inc., in Paterson, New Jersey, succeeded in pushing back the bosses' plan to start issuing paychecks biweekly instead of weekly.

MRC is a shop of about 300 people producing women's suits. The workers, 90 percent of whom are Spanish-speaking, are members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

The owner's paycheck plan came after weeks of stalling in issuing the New Year's Day holiday pay and not giving some workers their Christmas vacation pay. On several occasions the employer has failed to pay on time into the health insurance fund, which led to some workers receiving benefit cut-off notices. A number of workers had also been issued paychecks that bounced. The average rate of pay for sewing machine operators in this plant is about \$6.25 an hour.

A few workers were ready to go along with payment every two weeks and others had a wait-and-see attitude. But most were angry and skeptical. "Look at the cost of child care every week," said one worker. "I can barely stretch a check to cover one week."

Another worker explained, "Here it's a case of a lot of work for little pay. The boss made a lot of promises and lied to us. We can't believe his excuses anymore."

The owner convinced union officials to call a union meeting so he could explain his paycheck scheme. The bosses had attended a previous union meeting held after work in the plant. This had angered many workers.

On the day before the projected union meeting, which was simply a platform for the boss to sell his proposal, an unsigned letter written in Spanish on scrap cardboard circulated from hand to hand throughout the shop. It was addressed to the boss and said in part:

"We can't allow him to pay us every two weeks. We know what's good for us and what's bad. This is bad. We can't believe that he doesn't have enough money when there is so much work in the shop. We have to be united and fight together. This is our union, not his. We aren't guinea pigs. Tomorrow we'll be ready and be together."

The letter also suggested the workers get together and go to the department of labor in Newark to complain about the change in pay.

Someone showed the letter to the boss as it circulated. Apparently sensing the workers' resolve on this issue, he let it be known that the "union meeting" was off and that he would continue to issue paychecks every week.

One worker summed up the pride everyone felt in being able to push the boss back a little bit. "This is a victory, but that doesn't mean this is over."

### USAir flight attendants seek new union contract

Members of the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) at USAir and their supporters staged an informational picket line February 4 at Baltimore-Washington International Airport.

The action was one of several held at airports across the country during the past several months to highlight the lack of progress in securing a contract. The AFA has been negotiating with USAir for four years and is the only remaining union without a settlement.

Both the Airline Pilots Association and the International Association of Machinists (IAM), which represents mechanics, cleaners, and stock clerks took concession contracts last year. During a one-week strike by the IAM last October, the AFA honored the picket lines until a court injunction forced them back to work.

Some of the issues still in dispute between the AFA and USAir include proposals for pay cuts, copayments by employees for med-



Alabama steelworkers on strike against Trinity Industries  
Militant/Denise McInerney

ical and retirement plans, and a managed health-care system that requires employees to use particular physicians. USAir has already implemented crew reductions, which means more work for flight attendants. The company also wants to reduce the time allotted to and money made on trips, which according to the AFA could result in more than 500 layoffs.

In a related development, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has lost an appeal to the National Mediation Board in which they cited the company's unfair labor practices regarding last year's union recognition vote by USAir fleet service workers. The USWA outpolled the IAM by a 3-1 margin but came 254 votes short systemwide of getting the 50 percent necessary for union recognition.

### Nova Scotia autoworkers win improved severance pay

A widely publicized four-day occupation by members of the Canadian Autoworkers union at the Premium Automotive Tanks factory in Port Hawkesbury, Nova Scotia, ended with the workers winning much-improved severance pay.

## Clinton urges sacrifice as depression continues

Continued from front page

Asked if union members were willing to sacrifice in the manner being demanded by the new administration, Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said "Sure! You can't turn things around with just the richest people." United Steelworkers of America union president Lynn Williams was even more enthusiastic about the proposals of the Clinton team. "I feel very good, very positive, very encouraged by the actions I see them taking," he said.

### More like Perot

A similar message came from AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland after Clinton's February 15 speech. "We know that there has to be as well as restraint on spending, revenue coming in," Kirkland said. "Our members do not object to taxes per se; they have always strongly supported taxes raised for purposes which they could identify, such as Social Security."

But responses from retired workers and others indicate that under the depression conditions of today the idea of shared pain will not be popular and a labor movement fight against it will be possible. "A lot of people in this town feel they're already making sacrifices; people who are out of jobs and can't find work; old people with their incomes falling," said Dale Mayer, who lives in a New Hampshire farming town. "They feel they're making sacrifices and it's not doing any good."

## Senate approves Somalia invasion

Continued from Page 10

in the past two months. The real figure, however, remains a mystery because of the Pentagon's policy of refusing to report the actual number of Somali deaths and injuries.

"My men wonder who the enemy is — and that's tough because this is a humanitarian mission and there isn't supposed to be an enemy," stated U.S. Marine Capt. Mike Belcher.

"I'm fed up with these kids," said another marine on duty in Mogadishu. U.S. soldiers have now even begun confiscating toy guns from Somali children.

The legacy of decades of imperialist exploitation and oppression has left Somalia, like most countries in Africa, deeply in debt. The Somali government's total foreign debt more than tripled during the 1980s, reaching \$2 billion. This is a gigantic sum for a country with a population of 7 million and a per capita gross national product of \$120 a year.



The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement: Lessons for Today.** Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation to Spanish.

**What is Sendero Luminoso?** Speaker: Martin Koppel, staff writer, *Militant* newspaper. Tues., Feb. 23, Reception: 6 p.m., program: 6:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

### San Francisco

**Malcolm X: The Final Speeches.** Panel discussion on new book from Pathfinder Press. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**South Africa: The Unfolding Revolution Today.** Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for Dade County Commission District 3, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 3-681. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Translation to Spanish and French.

**Malcolm X and the Fight Against Imperialism and War.** Sat., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speaker: Dan Fein,

Socialist Workers candidate for Dade County Commission District 3. Sat., March 6, 7 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**The Struggle for Democracy in Haiti.** Speakers: Cinny Poppen, member, Coalition for Democracy in Haiti, just returned from fact-finding trip to Haiti; David Novak, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100. Sun., Feb. 21, 2 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

**By Any Means Necessary: A Day of Politics on Lessons for Fighters Today of Civil Rights Fight and the Political Evolution of Malcolm X.** Sat., Feb. 27, "Victory of Civil Rights Movement," 11 a.m. Lunch, 1 p.m. "Malcolm X," 3 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**South Africa: The African National Congress and the Struggle for Power.** Speaker: Greg McCartan, visited South Africa several times as *Militant* reporter. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0014.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Behind the Yugoslav Carnage: Is Imperialist Military Intervention the Way Forward?** Speaker: Argiris Malapanis, staff writer, *Militant* newspaper. Sat., Feb. 20, Reception: 6:30 p.m., program: 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass. Ave.) Donation \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Malcolm X: His Road to a Revolutionary and Anticapitalist Outlook.** Speaker: Mike Neterval, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30

p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**The Myth of Race.** Speaker: Duane Stilwell, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341. Translation to Spanish and French.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**The Struggle to Save Black Farms.** Speakers: Billy Harvey, Rural Advancement Fund; Lillie Mae Baily, United Farmers Organization; Socialist Workers Party representative. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Malcolm X on U.S. Intervention in Africa.** Speakers: Connie Allen, Socialist Workers Party; member of the Organization of African Students, Temple University. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

**South Africa: Historic Moment for Democracy. Report from International Conference in Johannesburg.** Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### Pittsburgh

**Revolutionary Cuba Today.** Speaker: Fred Bernardin, student, Carnegie-Mellon University, just returned from youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Ideas and Legacy for Today.** Speaker: Garnez Parks, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 28, 3 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**Thomas Sankara and the African Revolution.** Speaker: Pat Hunt, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Transportation Union. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**Film on Malcolm X: Gil Noble's *El Hajj Malik El Shabazz*.** Sat., Feb. 27, 12 noon. Tower Theater, 876 E. 900 S. Donation: \$5. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Legacy for Today.** Speakers: Meg Hall, Socialist Workers Party; Jason Tan, student, American University. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**Racism: What Causes It and How to Fight It.** Speakers: Greg Hinton, attorney, NAACP; Kimberly Davis, West Virginia Wesleyan College Minority Student Programs director; Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**Malcolm X: His Legacy for Youth and Work-**

**ing People.** Speakers: Steve Redd, West Virginia University (WVU) Board of Governors; Garnez Parks, Socialist Workers Party; Elvage Murphy, WVU Black Law Students; representative, Waynesburg College Black Student Union. Sun., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. WVU Mountainlair, Shenandoah Room. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

## AUSTRALIA

### Sydney

**The Socialist Alternative to War, Racism, and Depression.** Speakers: Ron Poulsen, Communist League candidate for Senate in New South Wales; Marnie Kennedy, Communist League candidate for House of Representatives in Grayndler. Sat., Feb. 20, 6 p.m. 36 Chalmers St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$5. Tel: 02-281 3297.

**South Africa: The Fight for an Interim Government.** Speaker: David Matthews, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 27, 6 p.m. 36 Chalmers St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

## BRITAIN

### Manchester

**Hands Off Iraq! Sat., Feb. 27, 6 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.**  
**Stop the Deportations: What's behind Israel's Unceasing War against the Palestinians.** Speakers: Jonathan Silberman, Communist League; representative, General Union of Palestinian Students. Sat., March 6, 6 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

### Sheffield

**Is Socialism Possible?** Sat., Feb. 27, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**How to Fight Racism.** A panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. W. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Fighting Racism in Europe.** Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

**Autobiography of Malcolm X.** Video. Sat., Feb. 27, 3 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

**Does Clinton Represent a Way Forward for Working People and Young People?** Sat., March 6, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

### Christchurch

**Social Welfare, Health, and Education: A Right, Not a Charity.** Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Tel: (3) 656-055.

**South Africa Stands at Gateway to Future.** Thurs., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

### Wellington

**The Widening Conflict in Yugoslavia.** Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

**1993 Elections: The Socialist Alternative to War, Racism, and Economic Depression.** Speaker: Janet Roth, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

# South Africa talks mark a further step forward

Continued from Page 6

*News*, Mandela explained that winning the elections is not the same as winning political power.

"Though I am optimistic that the process will continue and that the ANC will win the future democratic election," he said, "winning political power will be more difficult. To win political power, we will have to gain control of the civil service, defence force, police and judiciary as well as the support of business. This will take some time."

### De Klerk backs off

Reflecting the weakness of the government, de Klerk backed off the initial government claims that the ANC had agreed to "power sharing" in the talks.

"The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong," de Klerk said in an interview with the BBC's David Frost, which was broadcast on South African television February 14. "We believe that final agreement must be reached at a multi-party conference," he said.

Reacting to the ANC-government talks, Buthelezi, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said the ANC proposals were "a recipe for civil war." Inkatha has been responsible, in collusion with the government, for a wave of violence against ANC supporters that has claimed thousands of lives in Natal. This wave of violence has failed to derail the revolutionary movement.

In the *Mayibuye* interview, Mandela responded to critics in the anti-apartheid movement who had expressed the view that the democratic forces were pushed back in 1992.

"On the contrary," he said, "it was a year in which some significant progress was made. That was the year in which we agreed that elections should be held towards the end of 1993. It was the year in which we agreed on the installation of an interim government."

### Winnie Mandela attacks ANC course

Among those who have publicly attacked the ANC leadership is Winnie Mandela, the former wife of Nelson Mandela. She spoke harshly against the ANC leadership during a funeral procession of veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph in January.

"The sacrifices [of the victims of apartheid] were not paid in order to reach some so-called power-sharing arrangements between the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors," Winnie Mandela said. She im-

plied that what the ANC leadership was up to was "distortion of a noble goal in favor of a shortcut route to parliament." Winnie Mandela was forced to resign all leadership positions in the ANC last year, after being convicted in May 1991 by apartheid courts for kidnappings and a murder carried out by her bodyguards. She subsequently separated from her husband.

"ANC policies are not going to be judged by the expression of individuals no matter who they are," Nelson Mandela said, responding to questions by reporters about Winnie Mandela's comments at the Joseph funeral.

"The ANC leadership takes decisions collectively following the wishes of its disciplined members. We are not cutting deals with the government," he said.

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**Identified flying objects —** Residents of outer space are no



Harry Ring

doubt rooting for the commercial backers of a U.S. rocket launch who are trying to sell \$500,000 worth of advertising space on the hull of the 52-foot projectile.

**Equality of sacrifice —** The British government isn't limiting itself to going for a wholesale shutdown of coal mines. It's consider-

ing scrapping the 5,700-ton royal yacht *Britannia*. In 1991, it noted, the Royal Family used the ship only 31 days at a cost of \$18 million. By contrast, the heavily used Queen's air fleet cost but \$11 million and the royal train less than \$4 million.

**They care —** Concerned that "economically disadvantaged" users of the Los Angeles area transit system may have difficulty shelling out the \$42 for a monthly pass, the board of directors decided to offer a two-week pass for \$23.

**Hope he gets to wait in line —** At the San Sebastián Street Festival in San Juan, Puerto Rico, there were complaints about the breakdown of sanitation. The deputy mayor re-

sponded that the nine portable toilets provided by the city were ample for the occasion. It was estimated that more than half a million people attended.

**Zaparoma —** At the frontiers of science, a company is working to perfect a microwave dinner which will emit a "home cooked" fragrance when heated.

**Ratewarming ahead —** Greenpeace disclosed that insurance outfits are concerned global warming may be responsible for an unprecedented string of cyclones, hurricanes, etc. In the past five years, internationally, there have been 14 disasters where companies say they paid out more than \$1 billion in catastrophe insur-

ance claims. In the previous 25 years, they claim, no losses hit that mark.

**It figures —** The Pentagon permits war contractors to bill taxpayers for expenditures that assertedly build employee morale and well-being. A check of six "small" companies found a range of such items listed. In first place, by a handy margin, was \$383,000 for morale-building management gatherings in sunny climes.

**Really? —** It took a Congressional probe to unearth those "well-being" expenses because the Pentagon doesn't closely audit "small" contractors — those doing business with the Defense Dept. of \$100 million or less. And the big

ones? "It's entirely possible," a staffer said, "that the big ones are doing the same thing."

**Sweet treat —** We know it's late for this year, but here's a tip for next Valentine's Day. Reserve the presidential suite at Chicago's Hotel Nikko. All the customary extras, plus dozens of red roses, a Tiffany two-carat diamond engagement ring, and a jazz duo belting out appropriate melodies. Overnight stay, \$29,000.

**"Prolife" —** It was reported that Kim Carmouche will resign as head of the antiabortion Operation Rescue Louisiana. It turns out he's more than \$13,000 behind in child-support payments.

## Minneapolis school desegregation under attack

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Sometime this spring, the Minnesota Board of Education will decide whether or not to scrap the main element of school desegregation policy that has governed public education here since 1973.

The provision under attack requires the proportion of Black, Latino, Asian, and Native American students in any school to be within 15 percent of their percentage in the school district. This is often referred to as "the 15 percent rule."

The aim of this standard is to prevent schools from becoming overwhelmingly minority in composition. In such segregated schools, Blacks and other students would receive a second-class, inferior education compared to students in overwhelmingly white schools, according to supporters of desegregation.

The full weight of overturning the 15 percent rule would affect Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth — the cities with the largest concentrations of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

These districts currently receive \$33 million annually in federal and state desegregation-related aid, which would be jeopardized if the rule was abolished.

This financial blow to already underfunded public education would compound the real effect of gutting the 15 percent rule, according to Minneapolis NAACP president Matthew Little. "I am convinced," he said in an interview, "it would inevitably and rapidly lead to the resegregation of the schools."

Little was among those testifying at public hearings last fall in the wake of the Board of Education announcement that it was considering the change.

Protests against gutting the 15 percent rule at the hearings forced the board to postpone its decision until May of this year.

Bill Green, chair of the Desegregation/Integration Monitoring Committee for the Minneapolis Board of Education, also testified against the proposal.

Green told the *Militant* that overturning the rule would accelerate resegregation in Minneapolis. Already, he said, "in working-class areas and among the poor of the city, some classrooms have become majority Black, Hispanic, and Asian. It just so happens the quality of materials they have is below that of other areas."

The enrollment quota has been enforced by a mix of cross-town busing, specialized schools, and experimental programs.

Opposition to the desegregation mechanism does not come solely from case-hardened bigots and long-time foes of equal educational opportunity. It is being motivated by figures who, in the past, identified with desegregation and supported its implementation.

Dropping the 15 percent rule is "a significant shift in philosophy, a total shift," Al Zdon, chairman of the state board's Integration/Inclusive Education Committee. "It's never been proven that desegregation leads to quality education."

"I have always believed that desegregation was the right thing to do," state education commissioner Gene Mammenga said. "I'm ambivalent now," he added.

Doug Wallace, Minneapolis representative to the state school board asserted, "The conditions in 1973 are far different than they are in 1993."

In Minneapolis, these "different conditions" include a dramatic increase in Black,



March in 1974 demands busing in Boston. School desegregation, one of the conquests of civil rights movement and subsequent struggles, is under attack today.

Latino, Asian, and Indian enrollment, which now accounts for 54 percent of all students. When the 15 percent rule went into effect the figure stood at about 18 percent.

With oppressed nationalities boxed into residential segregation by discrimination in housing and job hiring, scrapping the 15 percent rule would result in the unofficial development of two sets of public education, a "dual" school system, say Little, Green, and other defenders of desegregation.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court, in the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, held that the racist Jim Crow system of segregation, which divided public education into all-white and all-Black schools — justified by white supremacists with the demagogic slogan of "separate but equal" — was, in fact, "inherently unequal."

Students who were Black received inferior education in run-down schools with hand-me-down textbooks.

The court ordered such legally segregated dual systems uprooted. In their place, "unitary" school systems were to be created.

Under the massive pressure exerted by the sustained political mobilizations of the civil rights movement, substantial progress was made in forging such systems.

This was a major gain in the century-long working-class battle to advance the fight for free, equal public education.

Victories in the South spurred the struggle against de facto segregation in the North, where there were no signs posted that read "for whites only" or "for colored only."

Desegregation's opponents gain some strength from the fact that the overall quality of education has not increased as a result of desegregation or the implementation of affirmative action programs. This is aside from the fact that students who had been in inferior Jim Crow schools and other such institutions did initially experience a marked improvement in grades in the early years of desegregation.

The primary value of desegregation and affirmative action programs lies in the major political gains that have resulted for working people. Such programs have been instrumental in the struggle to break down the divisions along race lines within the working class.

Since the early 1970s, every presidential administration has sought to undermine desegregation.

The Supreme Court has set new and increasingly complicated formulas demand-

ing proof that school systems deliberately discriminate against minorities in order for victims of segregation to receive any kind of relief.

In 1992, the high court ruled in favor of the DeKalb County, Georgia, school board that sought release from a federal desegre-

## 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interest of the Working People  
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In an important union victory, nine Salinas, Calif., farm workers have won their jobs back, at a minimum wage of \$4,500 a year for the rest of their lives. The eight months earnings of the men had previously averaged less than \$2,900 each.

They had been fired from the Martin Produce Company last summer for being union members, but the settlement of the dispute provided that an employer who fires workers for union activity must rehire them, and may have to pay punitive damages for the discharges.

**THE MILITANT**  
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
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February 27, 1943

In the Yugoslav areas where they operate, the Partisans base themselves on locally-elected committees (or councils) — "National Liberation Committees." And they have sought from the beginning to establish a central government based on these local bodies.

Police power is wielded in towns and villages under the Partisans by the creation of a "people's guard."

In the territories controlled by the Partisans, they establish control over food-distribution and the issuance of money; they conduct their own schools and publish newspapers. In short, they take over all legislative executive and juridical functions, displacing in all these spheres the previously existing central and local state apparatus.

gation order by claiming the school system was free from vestiges of official, Jim Crow, segregation.

Subsequent school resegregation, the board argued, was a result of "demographic changes," over which it had no control.

The ruling rejected the facts documented in the DeKalb suit that showed resegregation was a product of the refusal of the school board to fully desegregate public education in the first place.

A handful of middle-class Black parents, however, sided with the school board, claiming their children would get an equal education in the newly-segregated schools.

This division, reflecting class differentiation in the Black community, received widespread publicity in the big-business media in Georgia as a sign of dwindling support among Blacks for desegregation.

In the Twin Cities, there is a similar twist to opposition to desegregation.

A major article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* with the headline "Parents prefer good schools to desegregation" begins, "When Yusef Mgeni was looking for a school for his daughter, he didn't look for a desegregated school. He looked for a good school."

Mgeni, who is Black, is president of the St. Paul Urban Coalition.

It is the Partisans who have thus far enjoyed the widest mass support, especially among the peasants. The reasons for this are not hard to establish. In addition to the above-cited democratization of the Yugoslav state apparatus, the Partisans have pursued a policy of confiscating food supplies and distributing them among the population which faces starvation.

On Oct. 7, 1942, the *Daily Worker* reported that the Partisans in Croatia had seized supplies of "requisitioned wheat" and had distributed "several carloads" among the local population.

By decision of the leadership of the "National Liberation Front" peasants in localities received "timber for building and for personal use without charge."

Naturally, the Yugoslav landlords and merchants who own these huge supplies and timber lands are opposed to such measures. And so is Mikhailovich who represents the Yugoslav ruling classes.

Their opposition is all the more bitter because the policy of the Partisans goes far beyond partial seizures. "In Slovenia the 'Liberation Front' has recently confiscated the property of Italian spies and traitors to the people and has distributed it among the peasant victims of the fascist terror." (*Daily Worker*, July 28, 1942.)

It is hardly necessary to stress that this policy of confiscation hits not only the deposed local and central authorities but all Yugoslav landlords and capitalists who pursue the policy of collaborating with the Axis, and even those who support Mikhailovich, for they also fall in the category of "traitors to the people."

It is clear that the Yugoslav peasantry, land hungry for centuries, has been seizing the opportunity to divide the landlords' estates. And it is equally self-evident that the leadership of the Partisans has tried if not to foster, then to supply a legal cover at least, for some of these land seizures.



## The fraud of 'shared sacrifice'

President Bill Clinton tries to sell "shared sacrifice" to working people by claiming "we are all in this together." Somehow rich and poor alike must take a hit if the country's economy is ever to rebound.

The labor movement should send back a forceful reply: working people have sacrificed enough!

The message coming out of the White House has broad bipartisan support. Both Democratic and Republican parties would like to convince working people to accept a lower standard of living so that the wealthy capitalist families who rule this country can work themselves out of their economic crisis. These politicians are planning to work overtime to gain acceptance for higher taxes and major cuts in Social Security, health care, and other programs.

Clinton's State of the Union address is a follow-up to his inaugural speech where he laid out his economic vision of sacrifice. "It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our government," he said then. As if it is the government, and not working people, that produces the wealth of society! Now he demands "more Americans must contribute today so that all Americans can do better tomorrow."

When Clinton talks about "we Americans," he is trying to obscure the fact that there are different classes in society and different class interests. Social spending cuts and higher taxes are aimed at making the working class pay for the abysmal state of the capitalist economy, which remains in a depression in spite of an upturn in the business cycle. Democrats and Republicans can't sell the idea that workers should sacrifice for "their" system so all of Clinton's proposals are put forward in the "shared sacrifice" framework. Clinton even claims that the rich will be the most hurt by his proposals.

But the type of across-the-board tax hikes Clinton is

talking about will have little effect on the wealthy. And cutbacks in Social Security will eventually sink millions of retired workers into poverty.

The labor movement has a responsibility to lead a fight against Clinton's plan to deepen the depression conditions that working people face today. Now, as much as ever, social programs need to be extended to buffer workers and farmers, as well as people who make a living running small businesses, from the devastating effects of joblessness and economic dislocation that are by-products of the capitalist crisis.

When asked if union members should respond positively to Clinton's calls for sacrifice Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, declared, "Sure! You can't turn things around with just the richest people." Shanker's quick willingness to help the ruling rich is the exact opposite of the response unions should be giving to this challenge from the president and his Democratic and Republican cohorts in Congress.

The labor movement should be fighting tooth and nail against every cutback in social spending and every tax hike, which primarily drive down the working class. Right now the labor movement should be organizing to support United Mine Workers of America union members who are fighting Peabody Coal's attempt to weaken their union and drive down their standard of living.

Clinton is putting forward his economic plan to benefit the wealthy and make working people pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. At the same time, more and more he will send the sons and daughters of the working class to fight wars abroad to defend that system. The labor movement should launch a fight to defend the working class from the catastrophe that Clinton's "shared sacrifice" is certain to bring.

## Build on gains of S. Africa talks

The outcome of the February 10-12 talks in South Africa between the African National Congress and F. W. de Klerk's government is cause for celebration for all opponents of apartheid.

The revolutionary democratic movement, led by the ANC, has taken another step toward its goal of one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly. The talks mark another advance in the fight for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist republic in South Africa.

The ANC continues to have the political initiative. The apartheid regime has been further divided; its crisis of leadership is deepening. The National Party government is crumbling. It is unwilling to organize democratic elections and is incapable of doing so.

That's why the ANC is demanding an interim government to replace de Klerk's regime and lead the country to elections by universal suffrage this year. This is a critical moment in the struggle to end the scourge of apartheid once and for all. More than ever, the ANC deserves the full support of working people and youth around the world.

A multiparty conference is being planned for February or March to hammer out details for the upcoming vote. The date for elections has not been set yet.

Events in the last few months, however, bode well for the democratic forces.

Last May de Klerk attempted to hold back the tide of history. His government derailed the negotiations under way through the second round of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The first round of Codesa in December 1991 opened the stage of negotiations

leading to the abolition of apartheid. Government forces, aided by Inkatha Freedom Party goons, de Klerk's security apparatus, and other rightist groups, unleashed a bloody campaign of violence last summer against ANC supporters and other people. This wave of violence, however, failed to stop the march of the democratic forces.

The ANC leadership responded by launching a campaign of mass actions. The largest labor strike in the country's history took place in August. Nelson Mandela led a huge, disciplined march on Pretoria just days later. Demonstrations and other actions continued through the fall.

The outcome of the February 10-12 talks and previous concessions by de Klerk are the fruit of these mobilizations. The mass actions showed once again that the relationship of forces in South Africa has shifted decisively in favor of the opponents of the apartheid system and its regime.

The labor movement and all democratic-minded human beings around the world should back the people of South Africa in speeding the definitive end of apartheid. Every day that the apartheid system remains is a day of violence against the majority of South Africans. Every day of delay is a day of justice and freedom denied.

A victory in South Africa will give impulse to every struggle for freedom and social justice by workers and farmers, not only throughout Africa but in every corner of the globe.

This is the time to stand with the ANC, explain its course in clear terms, and step up international solidarity activities to build on the gains coming out of the recent talks. We must demand that de Klerk accede to the ANC's proposals.

## Lift embargo against Cuba

Prominent politicians and businessmen have begun to debate more openly whether to lift the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. Some of them argue that Washington's 32-year-long attempt to strangle the Cuban people has not served its purpose. They note that the embargo has been getting weaker, as more and more capitalist countries trade with Cuba.

Most recently, the effort to tighten the embargo through the Torricelli bill—signed by George Bush in October out of purely electoral considerations—has blown up in Uncle Sam's face. Most governments in the world, including Washington's imperialist rivals in London, Paris, and Ottawa, have condemned or distanced themselves from the U.S. embargo.

Washington *should* lift the ban on trade with Cuba. It's a criminal measure, an economic club designed to force a sovereign country to submit to Wall Street's dictates. The embargo prohibits any U.S.-produced medicine, food, or other goods from being sold to Cuba. Washington also bars almost all U.S. residents from traveling to Cuba, a violation of freedom of movement.

The wealthy rulers of the United States want to punish the Cuban people for the example they have set in the world. What is Cuba's crime? The fact that workers and farmers there replaced the ruling bosses, established their own government, and launched a fight to reorganize society in the interests of the majority. Moreover, they have given selfless aid to peoples struggling for their freedom

around the world.

Sections of the U.S. ruling class now hang their hopes on the idea that lifting the embargo will release suppressed social conflicts inside Cuba, boost opponents of the revolution, and lead to the overthrow of the government, as happened in Eastern Europe. Unlike those countries, however, where working people revolted against privileged bureaucratic regimes, millions of workers, farmers, and youth in Cuba see the revolution as their own and are striving to strengthen it through their collective efforts.

Cuban working people have responded to the sudden shortages of many vital goods caused by the collapse in trade with the former Soviet bloc by beginning a fight to become more self-sufficient in food production and to increase economic efficiency. In addition, the shattering of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union makes it easier for revolutionary-minded fighters in Cuba to link up with fellow fighters around the world.

The depression conditions spreading throughout the capitalist world are also causing more working people and youth to want to learn the truth about revolutionary Cuba—including in the United States. These political developments in the world create new opportunities for those who support the Cuban revolution and who favor normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations. Now is a good time for supporters of the Cuban revolution to draw broader numbers of youth and working people into the fight to make Washington lift the trade embargo and the travel ban on Cuba.

## Pharmaceutical profiteering vs. human needs

BY HARRY RING

President Clinton made a slick move when he promised to do something about the scandalous child vaccination situation.

Anger runs deep among the millions of parents who have to shell out an arm and a leg to inoculate their children against disease. And the anger is surely deeper among the millions more whose children are denied immunization because they simply can't pay the outrageous prices demanded for the shots.

In the Western Hemisphere, only Bolivia and Haiti have lower vaccination rates. Across the United States, half or less of two-year-olds are fully vaccinated. In some inner cities, it's as low as 10 percent. The reason for this is simple enough. For a complete set of immunizations, the drug companies charge \$200. A decade ago, it was \$23.

In fairness to the drug trust, it should be noted that they haven't singled out children for special victimization. With

## AS I SEE IT

the exception of the rich, virtually every sector of the population is affected by the rip-off prices charged for prescription drugs.

The situation has created such a stench that politicians besides Clinton have decided to take notice. Recently, the U.S. Senate's Special Committee on Aging reported that in 1992 the price of the most frequently used prescription drugs increased by as much as five times the rate of inflation. Perhaps, as a word of advice to the industry, the chairman of the Senate panel, David Pryor, declared, "Greed has become excessive."

Earlier an expose of the drug racket was featured in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Staff reporters Donald Drake and Marian Uhlman wrote a recent series entitled, "Making Medicine, Making Money." They found that the \$55-billion-a-year pharmaceutical industry "is the most profitable business in America. . . . No other legal business consistently makes as large a profit."

"Americans," they add, "routinely pay more for drugs than anyone else in the world." They pointed to a study which found that, when a drug is marketed in both the United States and Europe, customers pay, on average, 54 percent more for it in the United States than in Europe.

### No national health plan

Clinton noted that the United States is the only industrialized country that doesn't provide vaccination for all children. It's also one of the few that doesn't have a national health plan and doesn't control drug prices.

Among the hardest hit by runaway drug costs are the elderly. Their monthly Medicare insurance payments don't cover out-patient prescriptions.

Meanwhile, the drug companies are doing nicely, thank you. The wealthiest of them enjoyed a median profit (half above, half below) of 26 percent last year. For Merck and Co., the biggest of the bunch, the rate of return was 43 cents on the dollar.

In part, these superprofits stem from the monopoly rights granted by government patents. For the life of the patent, the drug dealers can impose astronomical prices for vitally needed drugs. And when there is no patent, price-rigging collusion among companies does the trick.

Responding to Clinton's speech, vaccine-makers threatened that any move to check profits would mean the end of the research and development which brings new vaccines onto the market. This is a standard industry argument—that a good part of their income goes for research and development.

Leaving aside the fact that they spend more on sales and promotion than they do on research, the argument is phony in all respects. The companies claim that they spend 16 cents of every sales dollar on research and development, some \$231 million for each new drug.

The *Inquirer* reporters deftly expose this hoax. In addition to research, the writers explain, the \$231 million covers "the cost of money—money that investors could expect to earn elsewhere during the time it takes to develop a drug. That amounts to \$117 million—a little more than half the total."

And, it should be added, they invest the remainder in research only when there's a strong smell of lucrative profits to be made. For instance, in mid-January the *Los Angeles Times* ran a front-page article headlined, "Breakthrough in Sickle Cell Treatment Reported." The paper said that, in initial tests, biochemical therapy has shown dramatic results in treating sickle cell disease, a disorder which affects about 50,000 Blacks in the United States.

The report included a caution from Susan Perrine, one of the researchers responsible for the breakthrough. She explained that more extensive trials are needed before the medication can be made generally available. And, she added, the testing process is being slowed down because the medicine is being produced by a tedious process in her laboratory.

For an important breakthrough drug, why a kitchen-type process?

Because, she responds, no drug company has backed the research. "They want to make \$100 million to \$200 million profit," she said, or they won't make a drug.

A true social obscenity.



# Cuban economist's tour in Britain begins



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Cuban economist Carlos Tablada

BY JULIAN NEWELL

SHEFFIELD, England — Ninety people attended a public meeting for Cuban economist Carlos Tablada in Sheffield February 5. Tablada, who visited Sheffield two years ago as part of an earlier speaking tour, recalled that during his previous visit the media was predicting the imminent collapse of the Cuban government. They said Cuban president Fidel Castro would not stay in power more than a few weeks longer. Tablada told the gathering at the Friends Meeting House that he was happy to return two years later and refute these predictions.

Altogether, the Cuban economist spoke to more than 320 people at meetings in Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield February 4-9 on the first leg of his European tour.

Among those who sent greetings welcoming Tablada to Britain were Frank Cave of the National Union of Mineworkers; Roger Baritone, member of the European Parliament; and the local Cuba Solidarity Campaign.

Tablada contrasted elections in the United States with those in Cuba, saying that in the United States you need \$500,000 to \$1 million to be elected to Congress, unlike in Cuba. In the United States you do not see

farmers, workers, or students in Congress, said Tablada. In Cuba four-fifths of the parliament is composed of women, Blacks, workers, and peasants.

Tablada stated that under capitalism "man serves the economy, while socialism attempts to put the economy at the service of the people." Capitalism reproduces individualism, while socialism seeks to develop the individual and human solidarity, he explained. The Soviet model copied many of the relationships found under capitalism. It did not develop the individual nor foster solidarity.

When asked whether Cuba should adopt different policies regarding the market, Tablada answered that capitalism has not been able to solve any of the problems of the Third World and that free-market policies are of no benefit.

He explained that in Cuba the U.S. embargo and the collapse of trade with the East European countries have created severe shortages of resources and led to some factory closings. No worker is without wages, however; there is no homelessness in Cuba, and no hospitals, schools, or universities have been closed, he said. There has been a reduction in the amount of food available. No one is starving, however, because food

is rationed to ensure equal distribution.

Tablada explained to students at Bradford University that U.S. aggression against Cuba is not new. In fact, it started long before the triumph of the 1959 revolution. In 1808, he said, before the Russian revolution and even before the birth of V.I. Lenin or Karl Marx, the United States attempted to purchase both Cuba and Florida from Spain. Only Florida was obtained at that time. In 1898, the United States invaded Cuba and Puerto Rico, annexing the latter and installing a military base in Cuba, which remains to this day.

During the course of Tablada's visit here more than £160 (US\$240) worth of Pathfinder books was sold. This included three copies of Tablada's book, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, and six copies of the pamphlet *Che Guevara and the Struggle for Socialism Today* by Mary-Alice Waters. This article by Waters is the introduction to the recently published French-language edition of Tablada's book on Guevara's views.

Julian Newell is a member of the Confederation of Health Service Employees in Sheffield, England.

## LETTERS

### Gays and the military

I found Paul Mailhot's column helpful in explaining why the debate on gays in the military has broken out now. I agree that the thrust of the discussion among the ruling-class spokespeople is on how to maintain an effective military force in an increasingly dangerous world as they see it and not about fighting discrimination against gays.

Personal affections based upon intimate relationships undercut the undifferentiated discipline of a military unit and, most importantly for the imperialists, "normal" social interaction can undercut the "morale" of the unit in their mission — to kill working people like ourselves. Bourgeois military training and indoctrination are based upon shattering usual social-human relationships toward the one end an army has — to kill. This is at the center of the brutality of boot camp training. This is not just about intimate relationships within the military but about the rulers' need to break down the potential for solidarity among and by workers in uniform, to cut them off from the working people who will be the object of their mission.

The demand to abolish the military is misleading because it is incomplete. It fails to explain what the imperialist army is based upon and most importantly how it can be abolished. Neither of these questions are abstract.

The guns cannot be abolished, they must be taken away. The abolition of the imperialist army can only come through a victorious socialist revolution which replaces the capitalist government and their army with a government of workers and farmers and the imperialist army with a popular militia. That is the logic of the demand: Not one person, not one penny, for this war machine. Only by understanding this can opponents of any discriminatory policies by the rulers and their institutions, including the military, not get caught in the trap of reforming these institutions and the system they are based upon. To not put this forward is to leave working people and all opponents of imperialist wars disarmed in the fight to ultimately take away the power to wage war from the warmakers.

Some helpful reading on this is in the articles, "The Working-Class Fight for Peace" and "The communist antiwar program 1940-1969," in the magazine *New Internationalist*, nos. 2 and 7, respectively. In addition the book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* con-

tains important lessons of the debate among revolutionaries before and during World War I, in particular chapter 4 on "National Defense or Social Revolution."

Aaron Ruby  
Washington, D.C.

### Radio Russia cutback

Beginning on January 1st of this year the management of Radio Russia, referring to technical difficulties, cut back the broadcast time of the program "Chronicle of the Workers Movement" from 25 to 15 minutes. In addition the program cannot be heard in Moscow.

Thus, without the agreement of the show's producers, they have changed the status of the oldest union broadcast in Russia, which is prepared by direct participants in the workers movement. And this is occurring in a period of economic crisis, when the unions are in real need of having their interests presented in the means of mass information.

We apologize to our loyal listeners for the inconvenience and suggest that your remarks in this regard (both individual and collective) can be addressed in written form to Radio Russia: 125124 Moscow, 5th St. Yamckovo Poly, 19/21, Management of Radio Russia.  
*KAS-KOR Digest*  
(A labor news bulletin)  
Moscow, Russia

### Income disparity

It should come as no surprise. The rich got richer in Chicago in the 1980s, and the poor got poorer. This is according to a study of U.S. Census Bureau data done by Prof. Pierre deVise.

The ten wealthiest neighborhoods in Chicago saw per-person income go up by 53 percent in the last decade. The ten poorest had a decrease in income of 30 percent. These figures are adjusted for inflation. The income figure for poor areas also includes some, but not all, welfare payments.

The Lower Gold Coast had a 1989 income of \$82,169 per person, the highest. The lowest was Stateway Gardens, a South Side public housing project. In 1989, residents there raked in a whopping \$1,650 per person. A difference of 50 times! The rich took in one week what the poor live on for a year.

"It's getting to be like a Third World country, like India," deVise said. "In this hemisphere, only Brazil has higher income disparities than the U.S."

The 15 lowest income areas are all in the city of Chicago. In the 1980s, 7 percent of the wealthiest residents of Chicago were Black. In the richest suburbs, 1 percent of the residents were Black. In deVise's first study, done in 1967, there were almost no Blacks in the rich neighborhoods.

Michael Pennock  
Chicago, Illinois

### Anti-Semitism

The February 12 *Militant* article entitled "Buchanan develops rightist themes in push for Republican Party resurrection" explained that Patrick Buchanan campaigns with the aim of assembling forces to build an ultraright movement that can be accurately described as fascist.

As an example of Buchanan's right-wing rhetoric and posing as the champion of the little guy, the *Militant* cited his statement that "the modern money-changers in the temple [are] the lobbyists, foreign and domestic — buying and selling public policy in the corridors of power."

I would like to add that this sentence also provides an example of Buchanan's Jew-hatred. As the economic crisis worldwide deepens, rightist forces will increasingly attempt to scapegoat Jews and promote anti-Semitism.

Bob Miller  
Birmingham, Alabama

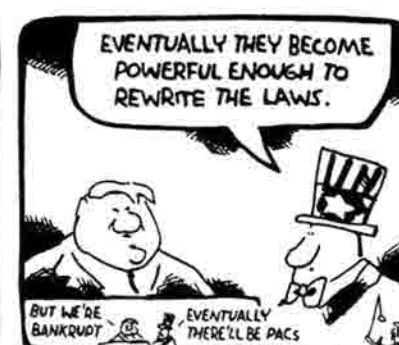
### Needs reiterating

In your January 29 issue of the *Militant*, Edwin Fruit wrote an excellent article for "Union Talk." In this article he stated:

"We need to achieve unity in struggle with other working people, regardless of our nationalities. Multinational corporations have no problems crossing borders to promote the interests of the rich. We have to do likewise to fight for our common interests. For example, we should link up with our brothers and sisters in Britain who are trying to defend their standard of living."

"In the process we can begin to transform our unions into fighting organizations to defend working people against the maneuvers of the bosses and their governments whose only aim is to increase their profits at our expense."

I believe this is an excellent statement that needs to be reiterated.  
Jack Chase  
Akron, Ohio



### Hydro-Quebec project

The article "Accord reached on Quebec dam," which appeared in the "In Brief" column in the January 29, 1993, *Militant* could leave the mistaken impression that the Cree Indians' opposition to Hydro-Quebec's Great Whale River hydro project has ended.

The agreement to which the article refers concerns two dams on the La Grande River. It resolves a dispute arising over an interpretation of a 1975 agreement for a series of dams along the La Grande River. Of the two dams in dispute, one was 75 percent completed, the other will now begin construction.

The Cree maintain their opposition to Hydro-Quebec's plans to build dams along the Great Whale River because of the destructive consequences to their social life and to the environment of their territory. Their opposition has received widespread publicity in recent years throughout the northeastern United States.

Roger Annis  
Montreal, Quebec

### 'Militant' behind bars

I have gotten a lot of value out of the *Militant* over these past months, and have always been able to get a lot of good dialogue from other inmates down here in the hole with me when I pass the papers along to them.

Recently the state of Pennsylvania has opened up a new "Super-Max" hole and as I write this I am sitting in it. Conditions are strict and

severe. We are all single-celled in isolation-type cells and allowed to purchase nearly nothing from the commissary.

There are cameras everywhere; we get shaken down daily; and even our sheets are examined every day to check for rips or burn marks (a damaged sheet has provided a large amount of misconduct reports in the past two weeks since the new building opened).

We also are not allowed to receive magazines in the mail. They are placed in our personal property so that we get them upon release. Newspapers, however, are allowed. The *Militant* has become the high point of my week! I have at least seven years left on my sentence and want to continue reading your fine paper the whole time.

A prisoner  
Bellefonte, Pennsylvania

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



## Greek students occupy high schools

Demand better education, protest plans for extension of military draft

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS  
AND GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece — The Third General High School of Athens is one of hundreds of schools in Greece that have been occupied by students for more than a month now. On February 1 students at the occupied schools carried out their weekly vote on whether to continue the protests.

At this school, students filed two or three at a time through chained and guarded entrances to cast their ballots. The students' demands are posted at the gate: "For better quality education!"; "No to multi-track high schools," a reference to the division of schools along class lines in preparation for higher education; and "No to the extension of the military draft period!"

Some parents stood outside exchanging angry comments with the student guards. "Put these chains down, let me in, I want to see my daughter!" demanded one. Two hundred eighty students showed up for the vote, short of the 360 needed for a quorum, so the vote must be repeated in two days.

After the vote, we were allowed past the chained gate to a large classroom for a discussion with the school's occupation co-

ordinating committee.

Seven of the young activists met with us to discuss their struggle. "The first schools were occupied in mid-November in Salonika [in northern Greece]," explained Stephanos. "By mid-December the occupations spread to Athens where they reached a peak with 270 schools occupied. Now there are 220."

"There is no dialogue with the government," said another student. "They act as if we don't exist. But they have brought cops, beatings have taken place at our rallies, and several students who are members of the overall coordinating council face charges." The council is a body of elected representatives from each of the occupied schools.

### No to private education

"They are now trying to pass a law to institute private schools to prepare professionals," said Panos. "These schools will be very specialized and students will have to pay a lot. That way they prepare people for what is marketable. They keep extending the private sector in education. We have run-down schools and yet the military takes 7 or

8 percent of the budget."

"We started fighting two years ago with a series of occupations," Alkis added. "It began when the government tried to launch an 'out of school surveillance program.'" The program would have given police officers and teachers the right to check student identification cards at random outside school premises. "They also wanted to make us wear uniforms," he said.

The students explained that during protests following the earlier occupations six people were killed by the police and fascist groups. A teacher in Patras was one victim of a rightist gang.

"The government is trying to let the murderers off with involuntary manslaughter charges in the Patras case," said Panos. "The defense lawyers are members of parliament from the ruling [New Democracy] party."

### Opposition to military draft

Several students explained their opposition to extending the draft. Compulsory military service now runs at 16 months. "With the situation in Yugoslavia, the government wants to increase service to two or two and a half years," said Stephanos. "This has to

do with the situation in the Republic of Macedonia. The government is pushing nationalist causes here in Greece. Our opposition to extending the draft period is an antiwar demand."

"We believe nothing can be solved with war here," threw in another student. "When the United Nations, the European Community, or the United States cannot resolve the problem, why does the government think Greece can? Anyway, enough people would volunteer to go [if the war spread to Greece]. Why force us?"

The Greek government has waged a nationalist campaign in its drive to prevent recognition of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

"The coordinating council has raised demands beyond education and that is good," continued Stephanos. "We support Maziales," he said, referring to a consciousness objector to the draft who is being victimized by the government. Maziales was on a 51-day hunger strike. Stephanos said he also supported the defense campaign for five members of the Organization for Socialist Revolution who face charges for distributing literature opposing the Greek government's campaign against Macedonia.

"We also oppose the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn organization, whose members beat a student and carved a swastika on his skin," said Stephanos. "However, many don't agree with our antiwar stance."

Last December, 1 million came out for a march to support the campaign by the conservative government of Constantine Mitsotakis and by the opposition Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) against recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

### Debate on Macedonia

"Many students from the occupied schools went to the march," said Alkis. "Many say 'death to Skopje,'" he noted, referring to the capital of Macedonia. "So, this is a big debate, but most students are opposed to the nationalist campaign. This is reflected in the student votes supporting the coordinating council's antiwar positions."

"Many say we should just focus on the problems of education, which are plentiful," said another student, "that we lose people by talking about the war or against nationalism. But the problems are bigger than education."

"In society in general there is a climate of dissatisfaction," said Alkis. "Youth are the only ones resisting right now, unlike last fall when many strikes took place. This is a dead period, so we might lose. But the struggle will flare up again. After all, we've learned something. We've dealt with fascist groups and the cops already."

The Ministry of Education has threatened to extend the school year for each day the occupation continues; the teachers' union condemned this threat.

Many students joined tens of thousands of trade unionists who marched to the parliament February 4 to protest the government's austerity drive and soaring inflation and unemployment. The march was called by the General Federation of Workers of Greece and the Public Workers Union. Negotiations are currently under way between the government and unions over wage increases.

Over 1,000 high school students marched alongside the workers, who greeted them with enthusiastic applause. The students chanted: "Not one soldier to Yugoslavia, we won't fight for U.S.A. or Germany," and "Fund education, not war in Yugoslavia." The Greek government has been supporting the Serbian regime through regular oil shipments and has implicitly threatened to go to war against the Republic of Macedonia over the issue of its recognition.

The most popular chant was "Workers, students — one voice, one fist!"

## Tens of thousands march in Paris to support rights of immigrants

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — Tens of thousands took to the streets here February 6 in a march "against racism and for equality." Organizers estimated the crowd at 60,000 but police said the march was substantially smaller.

The demonstration was called by five antiracist and immigrant rights organizations. Numerous other associations, trade unions, and political parties supported it. The largest trade union federation in France, the General Labor Confederation (CGT), as well as the Communist and Socialist parties, supported the action. There were also smaller trade union contingents.

The crowd at the march was overwhelmingly young. Large numbers of young people, including many children of immigrant workers from Africa, poured into the city from the working-class suburbs.

Among the demands put forward by the 100 associations supporting the march were: defense of the right of political asylum for immigrants; a halt to the discriminatory sanctions imposed on immigrants for even minor crimes; and the right of immigrants to vote.

Immigrant workers in France do not become French citizens and therefore do not have the right to vote. When President François Mitterrand was elected in 1981 with the support of the Communist and Socialist parties, he promised to grant immigrants the right to vote in municipal elections. He later abandoned this position.

Children born in France of immigrant parents do not automatically become citizens either. If they are convicted of even minor misdemeanors, they can be denied French citizenship and, after serving their prison sentence, expelled from France. They are thus effectively punished a second time for the same offense for the sole reason that they or their parents are immigrants. Hundreds of young people born in France have been expelled in this way.

Many of the slogans and banners at the rally supported the rights of the *déboutés* — those whose demands for political asylum have been refused by French authorities. Two years ago, a protest movement developed against the threatened expulsion of tens of thousands of asylum seekers. Two hundred *déboutés* engaged in a series of



October 1992 immigrant rights demonstration in Paris. SOS Racisme, whose banner is shown above, was one of the major sponsors of February 1993 march.

long hunger strikes. Many of the hunger strikers won the right to stay in the country.

One contingent was organized by the 237 families of workers of African origin who have been leading a movement for housing rights. In September these families were expelled by riot police from a tent city they had set up on the outskirts of Paris. Several hundred family members, including children, and their supporters chanted, "Housing is a right; the right to housing is the law."

It is a common practice for landlords to refuse housing to families of immigrants, particularly those of African origin. But a recent government study has shown that there are 300,000 vacant apartments in the greater Paris area alone. Responding to pressure from a growing movement for housing rights, the government recently agreed to requisition 300 empty apartments and open them to homeless families.

A large contingent was organized by the Federation of Associations in Solidarity with Immigrant Workers (FASTI), made

up of 80 different associations. FASTI general secretary Dridi Mohsen told the communist Party daily *L'Humanité* that the right to vote for immigrants was "at the heart of our reason to demonstrate." The FASTI leaflet distributed at the demonstration also called for giving the necessary papers to asylum seekers and undocumented workers.

The CGT leaflet distributed in factories prior to the march, however, called for "a struggle against clandestine immigration." The French Communist Party and the CGT are opposed to what they call "illegal" immigration. The CGT leaflet also called for raising the minimum wage to 7,500 francs (\$1,370) per month, construction of low-income housing, and the "renegotiation of the debt" of Third World countries. There was no mention of the right to vote for immigrants.

Nat London is a member of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) at the Renault auto plant in Choisy-le-roi near Paris.